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## **White identity development in a sociology class : an inquiry into White students' understanding of racial identity, race, and racism.**

Cynthia Gallagher  
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WHITE IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT IN A SOCIOLOGY CLASS:  
AN INQUIRY INTO WHITE STUDENTS' UNDERSTANDING OF  
RACIAL IDENTITY, RACE, AND RACISM

A Dissertation Presented

by

CYNTHIA GALLAGHER

Submitted to the Graduate School of the  
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial  
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

September 1996

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

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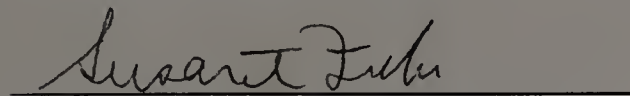
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CYNTHIA GALLAGHER

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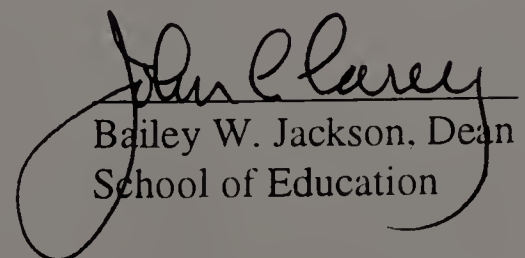
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## ABSTRACT

### WHITE IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT IN A SOCIOLOGY CLASS: AN INQUIRY INTO WHITE STUDENTS' UNDERSTANDING OF RACIAL IDENTITY

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Race, one of the most salient qualities by which people determine their social interactions, is a dynamic social construction shaped by racism in which Whites benefit by increased access to social power. Racial identity is defined as one's conscious and unconscious affiliation with one's racial group membership. Theoretical models identify racial identity development to proceed according to three aspects (1) one's sense of self as a member of a racial group, (2) one's attitudes and beliefs about other racial groups, and (3) one's understanding of racism. This study uses these aspects as guides for three research questions, namely (1) "How do traditional-age White college students describe themselves in terms of their White identity?" (2) "How do traditional-age White college students demonstrate and/or describe their attitudes and beliefs about other racial groups?" and (3) "How do traditional-age White college students define and describe racism?"

This study includes quantitative and qualitative methods. Data was elicited in two processes. Forty traditional-aged White college students completed a Personal

Information sheet, the Conceptualization of Racism Test and the Experience Recall protocol. A subset of ten students participated in in-depth interviews. Twelve variables were identified for a correlation analysis. While there is not a correlation among the variables, patterns related to the two developmental models were identified. Seven theme clusters were identified and include: (1) Definitions of race, ethnicity and self-ascription by race and ethnicity, (2) Recognition of differential treatment based on own racial identity, (3) Characteristics of being White, (4) General beliefs about other racial groups, (5) Identification of external influence, degree of internal agency, stereotypes and feelings, (6) Anecdotes of racial interactions involved in racism, and (7) Perspectives on racism.

A developmental analysis using cognitive conceptualization of racism skills and self-knowledge skills illustrates developmental differences in the ways in which the students negotiate each theme cluster. The developmental differences are presented in three composite portraits reflective of the developmental differences in the students' understanding of White identity. These portraits are used to provide answers to the research questions.



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## CHAPTER 1

### CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

#### Statement of the Problem

In the United States, race, as a social marker, is one of the most salient qualities by which people determine their social interactions (Omi & Winant, 1994; Pinderhughes, 1989; Frankenberg, 1993). This is significant because people rely upon their limited knowledge about members of other racial groups to determine the quantity and quality of their interactions. In light of the increasing racial diversity within the United States' multicultural population, it is important to understand the roles which race, racial group membership and racial identity development play and the ways in which they shape and guide a person's attitudes and beliefs about self, members of other racial groups and his or her definition of racism.

Throughout United States history, race has been used as a determinant upon which a person received or was denied access to daily life necessities (i.e., work, housing, and education). With the increase of industry and technology, racial oppression became most prominent in the division of labor often described as a “system of occupational segregation” (Steinberg, S. 1995, p. 179). From the early 1800s to present an invisible color line determined access to jobs which impacted individuals' quality of life. White western European immigrants were able to acquire occupations in the northern industrial towns and cities while Blacks and other people



of color were forced to work in segregated south, to work in the least desirable positions or were excluded from the workforce all together.

Achieving a national identity was a primary focus throughout the industrial period. Americanization became the process through which a person took on a shared national identity. To become “American,” people of White European heritage were expected to give up their ethnic identity, learn English as a primary language and assimilate to traditional White, English cultural patterns. While it was assumed that with hard work, anyone could achieve the American dream, access was truly divided along a color line such that people of color could never fully assimilate into the White American culture.

Contributing to the investigation of this problem is the ways in which race and ethnicity are confounded. Origins of this semantic error can be traced through a historical analysis of the labor movement. White ethnic group systematically formed unions to keep Blacks and other ethnic minorities out of the workforce. White ethnic solidarity was often housed in an American identity while at the same time celebrated as ethnic solidarity. In other words, for Americans of European decent, race was not consciously referred to as a category. Instead, White Americans thought of themselves based upon their European ethnic heritage (i.e., Irish-Americans, or Italian-Americans) (Stein & Hill, 1977). On the other hand, ethnic minorities of color were racialized into four groups based (Asians, Blacks, Latinos and Native Americans) upon physical and linguistic similarities. Consequently, within the dominant, White culture

the uniqueness of minority ethnic group origins (i.e., Japanese, Mexican, Jamaican, Nez Pers, etc.) were denied. The Americanization-racialization process encouraged comparison between White ethnic groups and minority racial groups with the results often leaning towards blaming the minority racial groups for their inability to assimilate. Over time we've lost sight of the historical context and in many cases now lack a common language with which to discuss the issues outlined above. In Chapter 2 I will return to the many ways in which race and ethnicity have been conflated and confused as categories of social organizations.

Inherent in defining the roles of race, racial identity and racism in the meaning a person makes about his or her life is an awareness of the interrelatedness of three disparate bodies of knowledge namely history, sociology and psychology as they bare upon an understanding of these three topics. An analysis of history provides insight into the ways in which race and ethnicity have been used to define groups and consequently to define individuals' access to daily necessities such as jobs, education, etc. Sociology provides a paradigm through which to better understand the cumulative effects of racism as a systemic stratification that marks differences between Whites and people of color. Finally subgroups of psychology, namely cognitive and social identity development provide frameworks to assess individuals' understanding of these complex issues. In the paragraphs below I will briefly describe the connections between these three bodies of knowledge.

The cumulative effect of the racialization/Americanization process is best examined through sociology which provides insight into the interaction among individuals, institutions and culture. Sociology helps us to understand that racial identity is a dynamic social construction through which social power, defined as the overall ability to define oneself as normal, is assigned based on physical and linguistic qualities such as skin-color, accent, eye shape, etc. As a dynamic construct, racial identity is shaped by and shapes a particular socio-political context that is influenced by racism. All individuals consciously and unconsciously have come to live racially structured lives. In the United States, historically, Whites are the beneficiaries from racism because of their increased access to social power, while Asians, Blacks, Latinos, and Native Americans are the targets of racism due to their lack of access to social power.

Students have difficulty sorting individual cultural differences from systemic stratification by virtues of which some racial group membership have access to social power while others are denied access to social power. In other words, White students will have difficulty distinguish between their own personal experiences and the realization that Whites, as a group, will find themselves benefiting within the majority of institutional and cultural situations. For White undergraduate students, this difficulty is magnified when, through increased understanding of historical and social contexts, their conscious and unconscious participation in racial systems is presented. Many White students have difficulty coming to terms with their participation both



emotionally and cognitively. This analysis has important implications for the educational goals of White students.

Essentially, the educational goal for White students should be to understand the ways in which race is a social organizer for society and that as a White person, we participate in racism. As stated above, this requires historical knowledge, awareness of sociological systems and psychological skills. All of which interact cumulatively with and within a broader social system. Many White college students who have followed more traditional educational paths do not know the varying context of history. Consequently, they do not fully understand the dynamic interplay between racializing ethnic minorities and Americanizing western European immigrants. And while history can be used as an intervention, it alone does not fully explain nor resolve racism. Having looked at social and systemic levels of race and racism, we move to try to understand individual issues of racial identity which is informed by developmental psychology.

We gain insight into the ways in which White students respond to interventions provided through history and sociology from the developmental processes in psychology. The cognitive development literature describes the process through which a person moves as s/he gains the abstract cognitive and perspective taking skills necessary to fully understand complex social systems (i.e., contextual thinking, self-reflection, self- knowledge, etc.). The ability to coordinate individual differences as they interact in a complex social system requires a high level of cognitive skills.

The ability to see self and others as a member of differing social groups with differing social status (defined as agent and target or dominant and subordinate) involves a developmental process described by the social identity development literature. Racial identity, which is a sub-set of social identity, presents a challenge for White students because, as presented above, it is often not necessary for White students to engage in an examination of their racial group identity because it is not fully recognized within the current social context.

Very often anti-racism research focuses on the effects of racism on the target groups, and allows White people to perceive themselves as individuals without a racial identity. The two overriding assumptions guiding this research are that Whites are a racial group and as a group are shaped by racism. Furthermore, it is critical to examine the process through which Whites move as they come to terms with their racial identity, as distinct from their ethnic identity, because the consequences of racism are prevalent in contemporary United States culture.

Existing theoretical models describe racial (Hardiman, 1982; Helms, 1990) and ethnic (Phinney, 1990; Smith, 1989) identity development in relations to three phenomenological aspects: (1) a person's sense of self as a member of a racial or ethnic group, (2) a person's attitudes and beliefs about other racial or ethnic groups, and (3) a person's definition of racism. It is not known if one aspect is a precursor to the others or if the aspects develop independently or interactively. For these reasons a measure of White identity development needs to include measurements of cognitive

understanding, self reflection, attitudes, beliefs, behaviors and affect. Integrating techniques of qualitative and quantitative design will enhance the study (Ponterotto, 1987).

This study will use the three phenomenological aspects as a guide in surveying White college students in a sociology class that focuses on social problems to better understand the personal life meaning these students construct about their White identity. This information will contribute to the understanding of White identity development by providing rich descriptions of the diversity of meaning that the students give to the aspects which shape their White identity.

### Research Questions

In this study White college students' understanding of White identity will be explored. The following research questions characterize the issues that will be the focus of the study:

1. How do traditional-age White college students describe themselves in terms of their White identity?
2. How do traditional-age White college students demonstrate and/or describe their attitudes and beliefs about other racial groups?
3. How do traditional-age White college students define and describe racism?

### Purpose and Significance

The purpose of this study is to examine the ways in which traditional-age White college students understand their White identity by examining the ways in which they (1) describe themselves as White, (2) demonstrate or describe their attitudes and beliefs about members of other racial groups, and (3) define racism. The study is exploratory in that it attempts to identify, describe and analyze the processes involved in White identity development.

It is presumed that the process to be examined will be reflective of the early stages in the aforementioned White identity models (described in detail in Chapter 2) because, developmentally, the majority of college students demonstrate the skills that are illustrative of these early stages. Thus, this study will examine the diversity found within the early stages and explore transitions if and when they seem to occur.

The importance of this study is the contribution that it can make to the field of racial identity development. It is one of a few studies that attempts to analyze White identity development in young adults from their own perspectives. Currently, racial identity research is dominated by studies which explore racial preference in children and/or focus on the targets of racism. This study redirects the attention towards the dominant group in the United States, Whites of western European descent. Redirecting the focus to Whites, the agents of racism, is critical in order to enhance our efforts to eradicate racism (Frankenberg, 1993; Katz & Ivey, 1977; Terry, 1977)



because this focus allows a person to examine the racism from the perspective of the agent or power position from which the majority of change is necessary.

This is also one of a limited number of studies that explores White identity development beyond childhood. Traditional-age college students were chosen because this is a critical period in their lives. By virtue of coming to college, students have opportunity to explore differences and presumably learn to make choices independent of major external influences such as parents and family. This is a time of self-identification, inclusive of racial and ethnic group membership (Phinney, 1988, 1990; Widick, Parker, & Knefelkamp, 1978). By choosing young adults as subjects, this study contributes to the field of research exploring development across the life span.

Overall, this study has theoretical and practical significance because it bridges some gaps that exist within current theoretical frameworks, namely by providing descriptions of ways that students experience various positions of White identity through the students' narratives. This will enable practitioners to design and implement anti-racism learning objectives and interventions that are appropriate of students in different developmental positions. It will also serve to assist White educators to better understand their own racial identity process, thus allowing them to be more aware of their own interaction with students.

### Assumptions and Limitations

Embedded in this study are a number of assumptions and limitations which should inform the way in which the reader interprets and uses the findings. As mentioned previously, foremost in this study is the assumption that Whites are a racial group and, in the context of the United States, that Whites are supported by social power which results in unearned privilege and benefits based on skin color. Furthermore, White identity is developmental and can be described in qualitatively different world views which are shaped by and shape the three aspects defined previously as: (1) a person's sense of self as White, (2) a person's attitudes and beliefs about members of other racial groups, and (3) a person's definitions of racism. Awareness of each aspect changes over time to become more congruent with a person's experiences, beliefs and other dimensions of self-identity. Each aspect shapes and is shaped by the other aspects and cumulatively defines a person's world-view of race, racial identity and racism.

This study is limited because it is a study of one group of White college students at a large Pacific-Northwest university enrolled in a general education sociology class which specifically address social problems. Although this group of students represents a diverse sample of social group memberships (ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, class), personalities, and levels of cognitive development, they can not be said to be representative of all White college students. Furthermore, this study is limited by the fact that this group of students chose to participate in this course. For

some, making this choice represented active inquiry with the content. Others enrolled simply to fulfill a requirement for graduation. Hence the content may challenge and/or support their existing knowledge (Canfield & Ceci, 1992). Generalizability is further impacted by the small sample size, with only forty participants in the quantitative process and ten in the qualitative process. The validity of the data will be limited to the context of the study. While the goal of the paper is to present general themes, this will only be generalizable to the extent of which the assumptions previously mentioned are accepted.

### Definitions

As can be noted above, the terms in this study are complex and have many different possible definitions. Next, I will provide the reader with the definitions for identity, ethnicity, race, power, racial identity and whiteness as they will be used in this study in order to ensure shared meaning and to provide context from which to understand the assumptions which guide this research.

### Identity

Identity, often used interchangeably with self concept, is the cumulative definition a person assigns to self and others based on categories of personality and reference group orientations. For the sake of definition, I am drawing upon Cross (1991) who makes a useful distinction between personal identity and reference group



orientation. Personal identity is shaped by personal traits, and variables that appear to exist across all groups of people (i.e., self-esteem, self-concept, etc.). While these traits may be universal, the extent to which the traits are visible or the forms they may be culturally dependent. Reference group orientation is shaped by traits and variables unique to groups and include the values, lifestyles, and cultural components which a person acquires from group membership. "Restated as a formula, a complete picture of the self-concept is equal to the sum of information about a person's personal identity (PI) and group identity (GI) or  $SC = PI + GI$ " (Cross, 1991, p. 39).

Reference groups can be divided into two further subgroups: those which are ascribed (i.e., race, gender, age, etc.) and those over which a person has some degree of control (employment, geographic locations, etc.). Saliency of personal identity or reference group traits is often dependent upon the extent to which a particular environment supports or inhibits a person's ascribed reference groups. This assumption is based upon the idea that a person has to think less about ascribed components of their identities which receive greater cultural and institutional support (Loden & Rosner, 1991). In other words, Whites, who constitute the dominant racial group in the United States, do not have to think of themselves racially because it is only the targeted racial group members racial identity which are salient in this context.

Furthermore, identity as defined above, is multifaceted in that it appears to be both static and dynamic, concurrently involving self ascription and definitions from others. It is pervasive and yet hard to grasp due, in part, to the process of identity



development that is both located in the person and bound by an environment or context. Personal growth cannot be separated from societal change. The relationship that exists between the psychological and the social or the developmental and historical has been described as "a kind of *psychosocial relativity*" (Erikson, 1968, p 23, his italics).

While many theorists (Cross, 1991; Erikson, 1968; Hardiman, 1982) share the understanding that social context shapes identity, Smith (1989) argues against defining identity in a historical context because it results in definitions reflective of zeitgeist, depicting a particular period of time rather than elements of a pan-humanic process. Smith's argument is housed in the desire to define oneself from a personal identity perspective.

Understanding the difference between personal identity and reference group orientation becomes important when a person examines the ways in which many White people self-ascribe racial group membership. When asked for racial origins, many White people will provide "individual" or "human" as their response. I raise this as an issue because too often this self-ascription is completed by individuals who have not yet examined the role of social differences or oppression in shaping their lives. White people often do not define themselves as members of a racial group. In this way, most fail to recognize the privileged position from which they choose their self-definition (Omi & Winant, 1994).

In summary, the identity construct includes multiple categories of personal identity and reference group orientation defined by self and others that vary by context, influence behaviors and attitudes and constitute life's meaning (adapted from Weigert, Teige, & Teige, 1986, p.27). This definition serves as an umbrella under which both personal identity and reference group orientation traits and variables can be located.

Ethnicity and race, as reference groups, need to be a part of any study examining White identity. While it is impossible to fully unweave ethnicity, race from the societal power found in any given context (Pinderhughes, 1989), in the next three sections I will define these terms as they will be used through out the paper.

### Ethnicity

Ethnic groups consist of individuals who share historical group identification, common values, political and economic interest, behaviors, language and cultural elements which differ from those of other groups within a society. Ethnic groups are frequently identified by distinctive patterns of family life, a common history, language, recreation, religion and other customs which cause them to be differentiated from others (Hardiman & Jackson, 1980). The influence of context is present with ethnicity because:

societal definition and assigned value, among other factors, help determine whether ethnic meaning for a given group or individual becomes positive, ambivalent or negative, which then has greater significance for how they behave (Pinderhughes, 1989, p. 39).

In other words, a person's affiliation with his or her ethnicity is shaped in part by the value that the group holds in the society. Examples of ethnicity would include not only Irish, and German but also Jamaican, Vietnamese, and Puerto Rican.

Ethnic group affiliation is complicated in that it is derived from ascription by self and others. While an individual may be clear about his or her affiliation with particular ethnic groups, others will make determinations about the visible aspects of ethnicity that in turn have enduring impact upon his or her experiences. As described previously, western European ethnic groups are shaped by the Americanization process through which they have been socialized to ignore their racial group memberships in exchange for national and ethnic group orientations. Through the complimentary racialization process, the unique ethnic group origins of people of color are ignored relative to their more apparent racial group distinctions. For example, all of the various tribal nations are group under the racial term Native American. The same is true of the various Asian ethnic groups, such that Japanese, Chinese, and Cambodian, all share the same racial category. The racial groups are categorized based upon physical and linguistic features. Through the Americanization-racialization process race and ethnicity have been confounded as terms and as reference group or social identity categories. In the next section a definition of race will be provided.

## Race

In the United States, race is a socially constructed category that serves as an umbrella term which describes pan-ethnicity, encompassing those physical and cultural characteristics shared among ethnic groups of like physical and linguistic features (i.e., skin color, eye shape, accents, etc.). However, race is not merely a biological descriptor because physical and linguistic features are the markers upon which social status is assigned. Asians, Blacks, Latinos, Native Americans, and Whites do not share the same access to social power and as a result have qualitatively different life experiences.

Race influences a person's expectations in the labor market, ability to define self, and self-esteem (Omi & Winant, 1994; Pinderhughes, 1989). An example of the disparity between Whites and people of color is found in the way in which racial identifiers are assigned only to people of color (Asian/Pacific Islanders, Native American/Alaskan, Blacks, and Latino/Latina), while through "normativity," the process of defining normal, Whites deny membership in a racial group (Frankenberg, 1993). As introduced previously, normativity is the result of increased access to power that allows a person to feel supported within the social context. In the next section, power will be defined.



## Power

Power, as it used in the definitions above, is reflected at a group level relative to how dominant and subordinate social identity groups gain access to unearned privileges and benefits. Power is distributed inequitably across racial groups, with Whites having the greatest access and other racial groups receiving proportionately less access, dependent on the context of the situation. Social power is different from other forms of power (physical, financial, etc.) in that it is based upon group membership and is influential, concurrently at individual, institutional, and cultural levels of society. Individually, it is the ability to not name a person's own group membership and to have institutions and culture support a person's individuality. Institutionally and culturally, power impacts a person's quality of life (access to jobs, validation of holidays, etc.) (Pinderhughes, 1989). For the purpose of this paper, Whites, those with more access to social power, will be described as agents or dominant and people of color will be described as targets or subordinate.

A White person's socialization is based on unearned privileges, namely that s/he does not have to think about being White. On the other hand a person of color's socialization is based upon being a member of a target social identity group who is forced to think about racial identity as a salient part of his or her total identity because it plays a significant role in his or her daily life. The process of achieving a healthy racial identity that is liberated from the racist culture requires that a person come to

understand self in relation to members of own group, to social power and in relation to members of other racial groups. Below, a definition of racial identity is provided.

### Racial Identity

Racial identity is the conscious or unconscious, active or passive acknowledgment of racial group membership and the meanings that individuals have been socialized to hold regarding racial categories. It impacts and is impacted by the individual's self-perception, his or her attitudes, beliefs and interactions with others and his or her understanding of racism (Hardiman, 1982). Identifying racial group membership is more than merely checking a box on a census form (Omi & Winant, 1994). Racial identities are defined in a specific social-political context, which in the United States, is strongly influenced by racism. Hence, it would be incorrect to assume that the process of developing a healthy racial identity is the same for each individual, regardless of the racial group membership. As a result of racial stratification, Whites have considerably more access to social power than other racial groups, resulting in a sense of whiteness that often goes un-named. A definition of whiteness is provided next.

### Whiteness

Whiteness is the cumulative result of Whites having gained social power in the United States and it involves the way Whites engage in the world. First, it is about

racial privilege and the advantages Whites have at the institutional and cultural levels. Second, it provides a frame of reference through which White people view the world. Third, it is a set of cultural practices, values, norms, and ideals often disguised under the term "American," which presume an individualistic ideology while ignoring their basis in social group memberships (Frankenberg, 1993).

The definitions were provided to give the reader a sense of meaning the terms hold in this study. It is also important to name one other language consideration which is made in this paper. Except in direct quotes, words such as Negro and colored-people have been replaced with current racial and ethnic denotations, such as Blacks, Mexicans or people of color. This choice of terms reflects this author's current socio-historical context and that, in the future, other terms may be more appropriate. In the next chapter, relevant literature for this study will be reviewed.

## CHAPTER 2

### REVIEW OF LITERATURE

#### Introduction

This chapter reviews literature on White identity and is presented in three sections. The first section provides a historical analysis of the literature which precedes the conceptualization of White identity development models. A broad understanding of the historical and social context in which racial and ethnic identity theory and research were derived is presented through a historical analysis of key themes and patterns. The second section is an in-depth description of four White identity models. This review of White racial and ethnic identity development models and the empirical research illustrates the assumptions upon which this study is based. My major assumptions are that White identity is developmental and White identity is constructed through the integration of three aspects of identity: (1) a person's sense of self as White, (2) a person's attitudes and beliefs about other racial groups, and (3) a person's definition of racism. Inherent in these aspects are skills (self-reflection, manage multiple perspectives, cognition) each with developmental implications. The final section of this chapter presents a review of relevant literature from social cognitive, social psychology and cognitive development. These bodies of literature were chosen because they best address the developmental skills necessary for White identity development.



## An Overview of Racial and Ethnic Identity Literature: 1900 - 1990

The development of contemporary research and theory from 1900 to present can be described in interwoven periods that parallel social change and social movements in the United States. Understanding the interrelatedness of race in the historical context of the United States is essential because the context shapes and is shaped by salient racial theories which provide "society with 'common sense' about race and with categories for identification of individuals and groups in racial terms" (Omi & Winant, 1994, p. 11). As this review will demonstrate, racial and ethnic identity theory and research is influenced by three paradigms: individual typologies, intra- and inter-group dynamic theory and developmental models. As the collective understanding of the complexities of racial and ethnic issues sharpened, our ability to develop increasingly more complex theories evolved (Milner, 1981; Omi & Winant, 1994; Wellman, 1977).

While a full analysis of all racial and ethnic identity literature is beyond the scope of this review, I will highlight the seminal pieces, focusing the majority of attention to works which examined Whites as a group. This section is divided into three parts examining the foundations of the individual typologies, the intra- and inter-group dynamics and the developmental models. Each paradigm was dominant in a particular time period and is introduced at the onset of each period. However, it is critical to remember that the paradigms have considerable overlap and cumulative effects that have impacted race and race relations throughout United States history.

## Individual Typologies

Prior to the 1920's, biological differences were used to explain Whites' superior social status because racial-based inferiority was believed to be an inherent part of nature (Omi & Winant, 1994). Blacks were considered biologically inferior, representing an earlier stage of evolutionary development (Lind, 1913, cited in Cross, 1991), and possessing less than 3/4 the intelligence of Whites (Allport, 1925, cited in Milner, 1981). These were all deemed innate racial characteristics.

It may be difficult to understand the construction of this argument from today's standards. Nevertheless, during the early 1900s, the majority of Whites could avoid interacting with people of color who lived almost totally segregated lives in the north as well as the south. As a result, their attitudes and beliefs were grounded in the stereotypes that they were taught about people of color. In the following passage, W.E.B. Dubois (1986) captured this quandary as it relates to Blacks:

The present social condition of the Negro stands as a menace and a portent before even the most open-minded: if there were nothing to charge against the Negro but his Blackness or other physical peculiarities, they argue, the problem would be comparatively simple; but what can we say to his ignorance, shiftlessness, poverty, and crime? Can a self-respecting group hold anything but the least possible fellowship with such persons and survive? The argument so put is of great strength... (p. 491)

These racial based arguments were used to justify any means to force conformity or elimination of groups of people: Asians were excluded, Blacks enslaved, Chicanos

colonized, and Native Americans suffered from genocide. However, with the end of slavery and Blacks' movement into many of the urban centers, the fundamental flaw in the race-based argument became more apparent. Biology could no longer explain why Blacks maintained such low status, nor could it explain why Blacks were ostracized by Whites (Milner, 1981).

In the early 1990s, Irish and German immigrants were firmly established in the United States and joined ranks to reject new immigrants, particularly dark-skinned southern and eastern Europeans, those of Italian, Jewish and Slavic decent in the labor force (Gordon, 1964). The emergence of color-consciousness in ethnic immigration control mirrored the policies and practices within the nation which were constructed along racial lines.

Assimilation in the form of anglo-conformity, became the primary means of achieving success in the United States. "Americanization" was the process through which immigrants were stripped of their histories and values and told to assume a new identity which valued English-oriented cultural patterns and histories. However, the color-consciousness of the society inhibited assimilation for those who did not have White skin. Hence, race became a principal determinant of a person's access to the labor market, political rights and sense of American identity (Omi & Winant, 1994).

During this period, the theoretical focus shifted away from the biological deficiencies to mirror the zeitgeist of the times. Models and theories which reflected upon assimilation for Whites primarily permeated research in the social sciences.



During this period, most research focused on minority ethnic groups' ability and desire to assimilate or fit in as "Americans." The limited work which focused on Whites, addressed their attitudes and beliefs about minorities, specifically Blacks. Racism, at this time, was considered a result of individual prejudice. Therefore, the focus of research was individual attitudes which provided the ground work for the individual typologies whose purpose were to identify racist people who could be taught to rid themselves of prejudice.

In 1925, Bogardus conducted the Social Distance Tests, one of the earliest measures of White attitudes towards Blacks. Bogardus hypothesized that those who feared loss of the status quo, or found their status and power questionable, sought the greatest social distance from members of more stigmatized groups (Caditz, 1976). In the United States, because race was the greatest determinant of social distance, Whites who feared loss of class status were thought to be more prejudice than those who didn't fear loss of class status. Social Distance research dominated racial studies until the late 1930's.

The research described above focused on White prejudice towards stigmatized groups. In the early 1930, research shifted to attend to people of color and focused upon racial preference. In the late 1930's, the Horowitzes conducted seminal works using the "Show Me Test." The work originated from Eugene Horowitz's (1936, cited in Cross, 1991) dissertation, in which he hoped to prove that racial attitudes and racial

conflict were not instinctive qualities as previously conceived by race-based theorists. Contrary to her husband, Ruth Horowitz believed that recognition of race (race consciousness) transcended mere environmental issues and was an integral part of personality. She believed that E. Horowitz's research format (a forced-choice activity) provided greater constraints which suppressed the Black children's choices. She assumed that the children identified themselves by criteria other than skin color. In her study, she concluded that the Black boys who identified more freely with both White and Black portraits were exhibiting "wishful thinking" or a desire to be White.

It is critical to pause to identify a methodological limitation in the R. Horowitz's work. The tests were designed to measure attitudes, but the results were presented as if both personality and attitudes were measured. This methodology confounded self-esteem (personal identity trait) with racial identity (ascribed reference group). This methodology was replicated in the racial preference studies of the Clarks. (For a detailed analysis of the implications of the Horowitz's work, see Cross, 1991).

During this period socio-economic status, reflective of the effects of labor movement, became the means by which to measure different social status held by various groups. Whites' perspective of class status was more important than racial status. Research and theory mirrored this change (Omi & Winant, 1994). The Frustration-Aggression theory (Dollard, et al, 1939), a typology influenced by the wishful thinking hypothesis, was embedded in the status groupings. Dollard believed



that membership in a low status group resulted in frustration because a person could not become a member of higher status group. Aggression, the catharsis from frustration, could be aimed at the source of frustration, the high status group, or displaced onto a scapegoat to avoid the punishment from the high status group. From the socio-economic status perspective it was easy to identify the prejudice, discrimination, and violence that lower, working class Whites directed at Blacks as forms of displaced aggression (Caditz, 1976). Consciously or unconsciously, this allowed White researchers to name working class Whites as the racists without examining the surrounding social context and there by, distancing themselves from the saliency of race as a determinant in a society.

### Intra- and Inter-Group Theories

Between 1930 and 1950, two additional authors wrote influential works regarding race and prejudice in the United States. In 1939, Frazier wrote about the status of Blacks in American culture and argued that the plight of Blacks resulted from the deconstruction of Black culture as a result of slavery. Blacks, as a group, were doomed to fail as they attempted to imitate Whites in a racist society that would not allow them to succeed (cited in Cross, 1991). Five years later, Gunnar Myrdal (1944) published An American Dilemma, a second piece on the status of Blacks in America. This work shared a perspective similar to Frazier's regarding Blacks' status in America. However, Myrdal concluded that racism would disappear because it was not

consistent with the democratic ideals reflected in nationalism, the spirit of the times surrounding World War II.

Separately, but concurrent with the development and expansion the “wishful thinking” hypothesis which guided the majority of race theory in the United States, in Germany, Lewin (1948) wrote about internalized issues of Jewish self-hatred. Lewin was one of the first authors to write about the need for individuals to be members of groups. His research demonstrated that if a person is unsure of group membership, belongs to a group that is stigmatized by larger society, then the person will show signs of unstable growth. The self-hatred dynamic evolves when a member of a targeted group tries to become a member of the dominant group and is rejected by the dominant group. Self-hatred is the cumulative effect of the realization that a person cannot be a member of the dominant group, coupled with the internalized negative feelings s/he has learned about his or her own group (Schifter, 1986).

Influenced by Lewin's concept of self-hatred, the Clarks (1955, cited in Cross, 1991) concluded that Black children who negatively evaluated Blacks and positively evaluated Whites exhibited self-hatred (Cross, 1991). K. Clark's work supported the development of a psychological compliment to Frazier's sociological profile of Blacks.

This work was used by the NAACP as part of the defense in the landmark case *Brown vs. Board of Education* which struck down segregation. The destiny of Black identity research was shaped by the application of the Clarks' study to the desegregation argument. Black identity would be associated with self-hatred until the early 1970's.

(For a more detailed description of the connections between Clarks, Frazier, Myrdal, and Lewin, see Cross, 1991).

In his critique of the Clarks' research, Cross (1991) points out the irony of these results:

The couple whose work has generally been synonymous with documentation of Negro self-hatred (wishful thinking) actually rejected the notion in their first foray into the field, thus protecting Negro children from what the Clarks perceived as premature, if not flippant, theorizing about the psychology of the Negro (p. 20).

However, given the social context of the time, it is easy to understand how, when the Clarks published their second study, they had moved from defending against the "wishful thinking" paradigm to become "the principle advocates of the Negro self-hatred" (Cross, 1991, p. 35). It is through examples such as the one above that we come to better understand the way in which race theory is interwoven with culture beliefs and cannot be separated from the diverse political issues and conflicts embedded in a particular historical context.

Allport (1954) shared beliefs similar to those expressed by Myrdal. Although he recognized that prejudice and discrimination had become a principal mode of operating between different groups, he believed these qualities were secondary to love, a primary human quality. He pointed to the "peaceful progression of contact, competition, accommodation and assimilation, through which many immigrant groups have progressed as they have joined America (p. 261)." Contact was the catalyst for

eliminating racial and ethnic barriers. The effect of contact on an individual's level of prejudice was dependent upon the nature of the interaction. Contact that brought knowledge and resulted in positive relationship contributed towards prejudice reduction. Contact between equal status participants pursuing common goals in an environment with social and institutional support provided the conditions most favorable for the reduction of prejudice.

The ideal of equal status groups reflected in Allport's writings mirrored the tone of the nation which was firmly establishing an individualistic ideology represented by the beliefs that all differences were of equal value. This ideology fails to recognize the saliency of race or skin color in virtually every aspect of daily living. The image of people of color existing in equal status groups with Whites is not a reality in most situations.

It is important to pause to identify the importance of assimilation which has come to characterize the foundation of most White research. Although the research and resulting theories represented a movement away from the overt racist tendencies of early works, it is critical to remember that the conclusions drawn were still influenced by the ideology that surrounded them (Milner, 1981). Typically, these conclusions described conditions as they appeared to exist from a dominant group (White) perspective and focused on the ways in which targeted group members, specifically Blacks, were responsible for their status (i.e., blamed minority groups for



their status in society). While the "color line" (the results of discrimination based on skin color) was acknowledged, racism remained hidden behind the quest for a national identity (Dubois, 1986). In the next section, I will diverge from the historical discussion to briefly explore the subtleties that need to be brought to the forefront.

Allport (1954) describes many social scientists' beliefs in the "peaceful progression" (p. 261) through which immigrant groups are assumed to pass as they joined the "melting pot" or were "Americanized." The assimilation process is based in ethnocentrism, reflected as anglo-conformity, where by all immigrants are expected to adopt the dominant patterns of American life (Shapiro, 1992). Housed in an individualistic ideology, the basis of assimilation is the assumption that everyone has an equal chance to succeed. Race and ethnicity were confounded as terms and categories, as reflected in literature, which gave very little regard to the difference between western European immigrants' ability to assimilate and the colonization of darker skinned eastern Europeans or the ghettoizing of other racial groups. The end results were that ethnicity became racialized based on skin color. In a lot of ways it was economical and often advantageous for those in power (primarily White people) to ascribe appearances, traits and values (ethnic group characteristics) to racial groups rather than deal with the complexity of the number of different groups entering the United States (Allport, 1954).

To this point in the historical review, White identity has been conceived in terms of ethnic origins (Irish, French, German, etc.) where assimilation, by Europeans



of White decent, into the American culture, was primary means of measuring individual or group success. Furthermore, minority ethnic groups' experiences have been equated with the experiences of White ethnic groups, but because the of way in which experiences are racialized due to skin color, minority ethnic groups have not shared the same access as Whites. White identity conceptualized as ethnic group membership allows Whites to ignore the saliency of race and to maintain ignorance of race on both personal and systemic levels (Pinderhughes, 1989).

Before returning to the historical analysis, it is also important to recap the major paradigm shifts that have been presented. Pettigrew (1958, cited in Milner, 1981) captured the transition by examining the growing number of prejudice theories which he saw as lying on a continuum. One end is marked by the individual models where prejudice is a personality flaw exhibited by those individuals whom we have come to expect to behave inappropriately, namely, authoritarian personality types, (i.e., lower and working class Whites). In contrast, the other end is marked by the socio-cultural theories in which prejudice is defined as a reflection of cultural norms which result in an internal drive to compare self with other groups in order to create and preserve a person's own self esteem. In this comparison, Blacks were doomed to despair given their social position because they would never attain the economic or social status of Whites. Conversely, Whites were expected to continue to excel because comparison revealed their higher status.

The intra- and inter-group theories from social psychology occur midway in the continuum. Prejudice, from this perspective, is housed in a person's connection to his or her reference group, which serves three functions: (1) it offers a point of comparison for evaluating self-worth, (2) it provides a frame of reference and (3) it is the group whose acceptance a person usually desires to gain. As described earlier, individuals whose ascribed reference group memberships are supported within the dominant society often fail to acknowledge these components of identity. Instead, they see themselves as "normal" and define themselves as individuals, while recognizing the ascribed group memberships for people who are different. In the case of race, Whites often fail to acknowledge their racial group membership but consistently name racial group memberships for people of color.

Returning to the historical analysis, in the late 1950's the Civil Rights movement (coupled with television) brought racism into everybody's home. Until this period, Whites' perceptions of Blacks were firmly grounded in an era where the social status of Blacks was inferior and static. As the Civil Rights movement challenged this, researchers and theorists were forced to recognize their outdated conceptualizations of the status of minority groups (Milner, 1981). Researchers and theorists began to look at the construction of their social "realities" from different perspectives. No longer could the status of minorities be based solely on certain White personality types, social distance or biological and psychological inadequacies.

During the 1960's racial minority groups were asserting the legitimacy of their group identities, reaffirming their place in the United States' culture and naming the ways in which "the system" held them back. An intentional focus on prejudice reduction was one of the results of the Black Power movement upon Whites. "Contact" resurfaced as a key element in the study of the impact of racism. In studying contact, Proshansky (1966, cited in Thornton, 1978) described findings similar to Allport (1954), namely, intergroup contact could result in an increase or decrease in intergroup prejudice depending upon the nature of the contact.

Sherif (1964) studied inter- and intra-group contact in which interaction with a reference group was used to define an individual's psychological relatedness to a particular group. Sherif determined that people feel, think and see things from the stand-point of the groups to which they feel they belong. In a later study, Sherif (1970) found that prejudice was reduced between different reference groups when situations involved interdependence focused on cooperation and superordinate goals. Tajfel (1970), on the other hand, argued against contact as a prejudice reduction method. From his work studying minimal conditions necessary to produce in-group bias, he found that mere categorization of a person as a member of a different group led to discrimination. He concluded that discrimination was a fundamental ingredient of the inter-group process.

Sherif's and Tajfel's findings thus appear to contradict each other in that contact is the cause of discrimination and is a mode by which to eliminate it. To

explain this contradiction, contact needs to be seen as existing on a continuum whereby it is both a cause of discrimination and a mode of eliminating prejudice dependent upon the circumstances or context. It is from within this framework that the group theories provide insight into the developmental models which follow.

Before introducing the developmental models, I will present the trends and found in the individual typologies and the intra- and inter-group dynamic theories. Neither the individual typologies nor the intra- and inter-group dynamics theories accounted for the qualitatively different experiences that exist between a person's ability to define self and to be defined by others as a member of a racial group, particularly based on the saliency of skin color. According to Blauner (1972), previous theories:

not only failed to predict and illuminate new developments - the shifts from the civil rights to group power strategies, the outbreak of rebellions in the urban ghettos, the growth of militant nationalism and ethnic consciousness - in short, the deepening of racial awareness and conflict in America. The theories actually obscured the meaning of these issues making them more difficult to comprehend (p. 2).

Wellman (1977) identified many limitations in the prejudice studies. First, most of the studies and theories were based on a limited definition of prejudice as an expression of overt, explicit racist statements and hostility. Although the studies found the racist behaviors they sought, they did not capture the covert or subtle instances of racism. Second, the prejudice studies did not capture the consequences of more subtle negative attitudes not defined as overt prejudice. An example of such is



found in the issues surrounding busing and desegregation of schools. A person speaking against mandatory busing would not necessarily appear to be prejudiced. However, negative attitudes such as this resulted in the same outcome as the prejudice attitudes - Blacks were kept in subordinate roles.

The third problem with the prejudice studies related to unfulfilled expectations. Wellman found that most people who studied racism had the unrealistic hope that by stopping prejudice, racism would end. History revealed that this was and is not the case. Although the incidence of overt prejudice declined, people still think and behave as members of dominant and subordinate racial groups. Finally, Wellman identified inconsistencies in the definitions of prejudice because they did not account for the differences between individual's beliefs and behaviors. In other words, individuals learned to act appropriately in certain contexts but still held prejudiced beliefs which they acted upon in socially sanctioned situations. Therefore, prejudice-based theories failed to explain the distinctions and contradictions found when the theories were applied to populations other than those described by the typologies because they failed to address the attitudes and beliefs held by those who learned to monitor their behaviors or to behavior in covert ways.

Wellman suggested that determining a person's prejudice would not help predict the person's responses to Blacks. Other factors (e.g., peer pressure, work place environment, religious beliefs) influenced the person's thoughts and actions.

Hence, using individual prejudice as the sole definition of racism in terms of research became mute when there were not theories to explain the identified inconsistencies.

Concurrent with Wellman and Blauner, Tajfel (1978) also identified the limitations of individual-based prejudiced theories which he described as ill-equipped to deal with social context:

Many of the "individual" theories start from general description of psychological processes which are assumed to operate in individuals in a way which is independent of the effects of social interaction and social context. The social context and interaction are assumed to affect these processes, but only in the sense that society provides a variety of settings in which basic individual laws of motivation or cognition are uniformly displayed. In contrast, 'social psychology' theories...stress the need to take into account the fact that group behavior - and even more so inter-group behavior - is displayed in situations in which we are not dealing with random collections of individuals who somehow come to act in unison because they all happen to be in a similar psychological state (Tajfel, 1978, p.403).

Accordingly, other groups in a social context provided a frame of reference from which a person can evaluate one's own groups. Hence the individual typology were not perceived as psychological states, but rather reflections of a person's perception of interconnectedness as a member of group in relationship to other groups.

These limitations and contradictions are important to remember. However, it is also important to recognize the contributions provided the typologies and group dynamic theories, all of which laid the ground work for the more sophisticated developmental models. Most of the individual topologies foreshadow the behaviors and characteristics used to described the initial stages of the developmental model and

the contradictions in the group dynamic research provide indications of responses from different developmental positions.

### Developmental Models

Continuing with the historical analysis, 1970 and 1971 were landmarks in racial identity work. Theory and research on race issues followed on the heels of changing times. Blauner's (1972) work provided the first alternative framework for understanding race and racism in America. Contrary to previous theories (Myrdal, 1944 & Allport, 1954), Blauner believed that as industrial nations develop, race and ethnicity become more salient. Blauner defined oppression as a dynamic process by which one segment of the population systematically receives privileges and power by controlling and exploiting other segments of the population. He reframed racism in terms of Whites' responsibility, and Whites' ability to maintain power and privilege by controlling and exploiting people of color. In the United States, racism is embedded in every institution where people of color are systematically excluded or disadvantaged. Privilege, therefore, is something that White people cannot avoid (Blauner, 1972). As described previously, the process of achieving a healthy racial identity that is liberated from the racist culture is different for people of color and whites.

Minority racial identity developmental models described the process through which a person could pass as s/he acquired a positive racial identity. The models describe stage-like progressions involving qualitatively different understandings of a

person's relationship to self, to members of own group and to members of the dominant group (Cross, 1971; Hayes-Bautista, 1974; Jackson, 1971; Sue & Sue, 1971; Thomas, 1971). Unlearning identities shaped in the racist society was the common denominator among the models and contact was the catalysis which ignited the developmental process. Racial identity theorists seized and utilized "contact" in a slightly different context which accounted for interactions on individual, institutional and cultural levels. Contact, on an individual level, referred to interaction between self and members of a person's own racial group and with members of racial groups other than own. The messages a person receives about self and others are reinforced systematically by institutions (i.e., education, media, etc.) and culture (i.e., standards of beauty, holidays, etc.).

Parallel work on White identity development was delayed because researchers continued to focus on Whites' racial attitudes towards other groups, particularly their prejudice towards Blacks. Consciously and unconsciously, focusing on prejudice allowed Whites to ignore their own racial group membership. However, as described previously, since the prejudice typologies were inadequate to explain or predict the consequences of the civil rights and Black power movement (Blauner, 1972; Tajfel, 1978; Wellman, 1977), theorists were challenged to explain the circumstances of racism from a different perspective, that of White participation (Blauner, 1972; Wellman, 1977).



The determining feature of race relations is the systematic maintenance of Whites' superior position within institutions and culture. Through an analysis of racism from a White social group perspective, Wellman (1977) concluded that Whites need to see themselves as members of a group, and to recognize the privileges they are working to maintain in order to combat racism. The progress of racism in the United States coupled with minority racial identity development models (Cross, 1971; Hayes-Bautista, 1974; Jackson, 1971; Sue & Sue, 1971; Thomas, 1971) served as catalyst for the exploration of White participation in racism which preceded the White identity development models.

In the late 1970's and early 1980's, a number of different researchers addressed White awareness (Gaertner, 1976; Ganter, 1977; Terry, 1977) and White identity development (Carney and Kahn, 1984; Hardiman, 1979; Helms, 1984). The awareness models were very similar to the individual typologies in that they tried to assess Whites varying attitudes about people of color. The developmentalists attempted to examine the impact of racism on Whites in a systematic fashion through theory and models which describe the process through which a White person moves as she achieves a White identity not rooted in the subordination of people of color. The process includes an examination of a person's behaviors, feelings and values in relation to self, his or her own group and minority racial groups (Hardiman, 1982; Helms, 1990).

Currently, White identity is examined from two conceptual frameworks: ethnic identity and racial identity. The ethnic identity models are constructed around the assimilation paradigm where by White identity is the amalgamation of European ethnicities and is treated as merely one among several equally situated ethnic groups (Phinney, 1989; Smith, 1991). The racial identity models pay greater attention to socialization in a racially stratified context and the resulting disparity between Whites and minority racial groups (Hardiman, 1982; Helms, 1984).

This historical overview (See Table 2.1) was developed to provide a context from which to better understand the evolution of the White identity development models. In the section that follows, the White identity models most often cited from the literature will be presented. This section will conclude with an examination of the empirical research that is conducted using the models.

Insert Table 2.1

### White Identity Development Models

The previous section provided a historical analysis of the context in which the development of White identity literature evolved. The analysis concluded with an introduction to the developmental models in which White identity is defined as a developmental process (Hardiman, 1982; Helms, 1990; Phinney, 1988; Smith, 1991). The models describe a life-long process through which White identity is achieved. The

Table 2.1 - A Historical Perspective of Major Theories and Concepts in Racial and Ethnic Identity Development Literature

|  |  |   |  |   |  |  |  |   |  |
|--|--|---|--|---|--|--|--|---|--|
| Frustration/Aggression Theory<br>Dollard, et al, 1939  |  | Nature of Prejudice<br>Allport, 1954  |  | Social Comparison Theory<br>Festinger, 1954   |  | Social Identity and Inter-Group Relations<br>1970 - 1982 |  | Teaching About Racism<br>Tatum, 1992                    |  |
| Authoritarian Personality<br>Adorno, 1950  |  | Life-Span Identity Development<br>Erikson, 1959   |  | Portraits of White Racism<br>Wellman, 1977  |  | Asian Identity<br>Sue & Sue, 1971                        |  | Racial Identity and Counseling<br>Helms & Carter, 1988> |  |
| Show Me Test<br>Horowitz, 1939   |  | Reference Groups<br>Shibutani, 1955   |  | Black Identity<br>Cross, 1971   |  | White Identity<br>Hardiman, 1981                         |  |   |  |
| Social Distance Theory<br>Bogardus, 1925   |  | Self-Hatred<br>Lewin, 1948  |  | Inter/Intra Group Contact<br>Sherif, 1964   |  | Black Identity<br>Jackson, 1975                          |  | White Identity<br>Helms, 1984                           |  |
| <-----X-----X-----X-----X-----X-----X-----X----->  |  | 1920  |  | 1930  |  | 1940   |  | 1950  |  |
| INDIVIDUAL TYPOLOGIES<br>(Psychology)  |  | INTER & INTRA-GROUP THEORIES<br>(Social Psychology)   |  | DEVELOPMENTAL THEORIES<br>(Oppression Paradigm)   |  | 1960   |  | 1970  |  |
| Theories and research focuses on Blacks' inadequacies from a biological perspective. Research shifts towards defining Whites involvement in the status Blacks held. - focuses on (1) Whites' beliefs and attitudes about Blacks and (2) Blacks desires to be White. Researchers compounded self-esteem with self-concept by projecting effects of oppression on individuals. |  | Success is measured by one's ability to assimilate. Nationalism and the "melting pot" are in the forefront. Minority groups start to name the systematic nature of racism and radicalization based on skin color. |  | Recognition of racism by both Whites and people of color increase. Components from individual and inter-group theories are interwoven into developmental models examining the changing racial identity. Target group models precede White identity development models by approximately ten years. Developmental models are used for applications in counseling and education. Movement towards more inclusive models which incorporate multiple components of identity. |  | 1980   |  | 1990  |  |

authors base their ideas, in part, on Erikson's (1968) work on identity development. While it is agreed that development occurs across the life span, adolescence and adulthood are times which allow and encourage racial and ethnic identity development because daily life circumstances allow racial and ethnic group membership to be more salient (Phinney, 1988; 1990). In this section, four White racial and ethnic identity development models are examined. This is followed by a comparison of the White identity models, and concludes with an examination of recent empirical research.

### White Racial Identity Development Models

White racial identity development models describe orderly processes through which Whites can move while they work to achieve a non-racist identity. Helms (1984, 1990) and Hardiman (1979, 1982) developed similar White racial identity development theories. Inherent in each model is the assumption that racial group membership is shaped through bidenimensionality (Helms, 1990), the attitudes that a person has about self and others. Both models also share the assumption that being White, in the United States, means a person is a member of the politically and socially powerful or dominant racial identity group. Since being White is dominant, most things are judged according to White standards. Consequently, anything that exists outside of these standards is defined as different or abnormal. It is possible to exist in this society without acknowledging "whiteness" because it appears to be universal.



### Helm's White Racial Identity Model

The key component of the Helms (1984, 1990) model is contact.

It is only when Whites come in contact with the idea of Blacks that whiteness becomes a potential issue. Whether or not this initial contact has any implications for racial identity depends upon the extent to which it is unavoidable...to the extent that such intrusion can be avoided, which may still be the case in much of White America, a person can avoid resolving White racial identity issues (Helms, 1990, p. 51).

The Helms' model focused on the attitudes associated with contact at various stages of White racial identity development.

Contact happens in two fashions, vicariously or directly. Vicarious contact is the primary source of understanding racial differences for the majority of White people. It occurs when an individual receives information about other racial groups from intermediary sources such as TV, film, anecdotal reports, and the news. It is the results of the socialization process through which we receive messages from important people that are reinforced by institutions and culture. Vicarious contact teaches us how to act and think in relation to other racial groups.

Direct contact involves the interaction between the individual and a member of another racial group or direct contact with a dramatic and immediate image that feels like an interaction with another racial group (for example, the television broadcast of White police officers beating a Black man). Direct contact must be a salient interaction in order to impact White identity development. It must pose significant contradictions to the messages received through vicarious contacts to result in dissonance. When the moment of dissonance occurs, an individual cannot comprehend

a situation through current means of understanding and s/he can accommodate the information in a new way, often lending itself to a new level of understanding.

Helms' original model, developed from informal interviews with colleagues and friends, (Helms, 1984) consisted of five stages: Contact, Disintegration, Reintegration, Pseudo-Independence, and Autonomy. The Immersion/Emersion stage was added to the revised version (Helms, 1990) to reflect Hardiman's belief that it is possible for Whites to enter into a stage of self-examination (Hardiman, 1979, 1982) in order to explore accurate information about history, politics and culture. The current model (Helms, 1990) is comprised of two phases, based on the contact situations described above. The first phase describes a White person's abandonment of racism. The second phase describes the process of defining a new White identity. Each of the phases have three stages. The stages included in the first phase are Contact, Disintegration, and Reintegration. The stages in the second phase are Pseudo-Independence, Immersion/Emersion and Autonomy.

During the Contact stage the White person is not aware of racial group membership. She ignores the race of other individuals. The person can chose to avoid relationships with members of other racial groups or chose to pursue relationships, usually to satisfy curiosity. The Disintegration stage begins when s/he engages with member of other racial groups. A person's whiteness becomes an issue for the first time in this stage. With on-going contact with people of color, the White person begins to understand the systemic nature of racism in the United States. The White

person has three choices at this point: she can choose to return to the "all-White" perspective of society; she can over-identify with the other racial group; or she can become paternalistic to the other racial group's members.

Returning to an "all-White" perspective results in maintenance of racist beliefs and a continuation of the status quo. The consequence of the other two choices is eventual rejection by members of the targeted racial group. Rejection occurs because the White person can never join the target group and the target group will eventually resent the paternalistic motives of the White person. These rejections often angers the White person who does not as of yet fully understand his or her participation and consequent privilege from racism. This anger is a pivotal point in the transition to Reintegration, the stage in which a person retreats into an all White perspective to heal from the hurt of rejection. A second reaction to rejection is to blame the target group for its position in society.

Reintegration is the doorstep into the second phase where Whites redefine themselves. While in Reintegration, the White person can choose to continue to explore personal responsibility for racism or retreat back into the White world. Continued exploration results in an increased sensitivity and awareness of the benefits and privileges Whites receive from racism. However, the person still has not yet fully internalized the privileges which s/he receive just by being White. From here, the person can move into the Pseudo-independence stage, the first stage of the second phase.

While in Pseudo-Independence, the individual is likely to intellectualize about racism, always keeping it at a distance. Interpersonal relationships with members of other racial groups are limited to a few close people. If the relationships develop into significant ones, they can serve as catalysts into Immersion/Emersion because the interactions propel the person to recognize personal involvement in racism. Often it is the personal, emotional learnings about a person's own racist behaviors, and the price that one pays as a result of these actions and beliefs, that propels one forward to Immersion/Emersion.

This deeper understanding of the person's own involvement often ignites a desire to make changes in a person's self. The change is an internal process of redefining self as a White person. The task is to redefine whiteness in a manner that is not built upon the existing oppressive systems. As a new definition emerges, it can be tested with people who are involved in the same process. As s/he becomes more secure in this new definition of self, it will be tested on different people in other safe environments. The transition to the final stage, Autonomy, is marked when s/he begins to integrate a new identity more fully into her or her daily life. During the Autonomy stage, a person will internalize the new White identity and seek opportunities that allow the person to interact with many different groups (Carter, 1990; Helms, 1990).

As stated previously, the Hardiman model is very similar to the Helms model. Both describe the processes through which Whites develop racial identity in an



oppressive society in which they are the dominant racial group. Both identify the process as a linear progression. The difference lies in the central focus of the models. As described previously, Helm's model is an interpersonal/intercultural model in which movement is based on contact. In contrast, Hardiman's model is an intra-personal model based on social learning in which development is initiated through dissonance caused by an increased awareness of self as a member of a racial group in conjunction with an increased awareness of racism and the ways in which racism effects people of color.

#### Hardiman's White Racial Identity Development Model

Hardiman's (1979, 1994) model is a multi-dimensional model which explores White identity from a broader perspective than the attitude measurement offered in the Helms model. Hardiman uses Jackson's (1975) Black Identity Development Model as a foundation for her White Identity Development Model (WIDM). Hardiman's model focuses on internal consciousness and behaviors. Aspects of social identity (psycho-social process, social-context and application) are incorporated into the WIDM which consists of five stages: Naive, Acceptance, Resistance, Redefinition and Internalization. There are two possible manifestations of Acceptance and Resistance, namely, passive and active which can also be defined as unconscious or conscious. Redefinition and Internalization are manifested only as active, conscious choices (Jackson & Hardiman, 1994).

Naive is the stage in which behaviors are spontaneous and natural, reflecting a lack of awareness of social roles and of "appropriate" beliefs and attitudes. As to be expected in the United States, this stage does not last long past infancy. A person quickly moves into Acceptance via the socialization process that shapes development. During this stage the person identifies social roles and accepts role models. S/he learns appropriate interactions with members of his or her own group and with members of minority racial groups. Passive Acceptance resembles Naiveness in that the person is not conscious of, or denies racial differences (i.e., color blind). S/he often finds reasons other than racial stratification to rationalize the difference which exist between the various racial groups. Whereas Active Acceptance is associated with conscious identification with Whites as a superior group. In either case, as the person gains life experiences, s/he may be faced with situations s/he cannot comprehend within an Acceptance framework of for understanding. Interaction, usually through contact with individuals from other racial groups or a negative experience with Whites, provides opportunities for the person to reevaluate his or her current world view which may appear illogical, detrimental to his or her own self-concept, impractical or no longer serving some purpose. With similar on-going interactions and appropriate support to reinterpret this new world view, the person can move into the third stage, Resistance.

A person in Passive Resistance will begin to challenge racism in safe situations. S/he will experience anger, fear, guilt and possibly a sense of being overwhelmed due

to the increased knowledge, awareness and the feeling that racism is too pervasive. The person in Active Resistance openly questions previously held beliefs about self as a White person and about stereotypes held about other racial groups. Active Resistance is often filled with anger, rage and discomfort at having to face the reality that the s/he is a member of a racist group and that s/he may have some responsibility for racism. In both cases the emotions are usually directed externally towards the people who delivered the messages, socializing agents such as parents, friends, institutions. During Resistance the person denounces other White people's messages and behaviors. Resistance is often a time of defining "who I am not." Many times the individual tries to remedy racism by denying affiliation with the "bad" White people or trying to "fix it" for people of color. These actions are often rejected by the targeted group members because they are perceived of as paternalistic or as denying White privilege.

Rejection by people of color often forces the White person to once again reconsider his or her position as a White person. The transition from Resistance to Redefinition is marked when the individual begins to consciously question "who am I" rather than deal with "who I am not." With intentional support, usually provided by other White people who are participating in a similar process, the individual begins to reflect internally. Redefinition is the process of defining needs and values as a White person without the racist influences of society's values and needs. It involves (re)discovery of White racial and ethnic heritage and culture which is not constructed

at the expense of another group. As the person becomes more at ease with the new identity, s/he enters the final stage, Internalization. Here, the individual is attempting to integrate the new definition of racial identity with all aspects of identity.

The preceding racial identity development models suggest that there are a generic set of developmental stages for White people moving from a racial identity embedded in society's definitions to a racial identity liberated from racism. The models suggest that in each stage of development a person will gain a different view of the world. Changes in world view allow the individual to view relationships with race and racism differently. Inherent in this is that at each stage the person is expected to think, feel and behave differently in relation to self, his or her own racial group, and other racial groups.

As with racial identity development, more interest in ethnic identity development evolved after the "ethnic revitalization movement" in the 1960s (Smith, 1989). While most of the research was conducted on minority ethnic group, there are three constructs which are important to the understanding of White identity development, namely, social comparison, acculturation, and ethnic identity formation. The following section provides a discussion about each of the three constructs and a review of the ethnic identity development models by Phinney and Smith.



## Ethnic Identity Constructs

The majority of the research on ethnic identity is conducted using the social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978; Turner, 1978). Through this theory and subsequent research, it was determined that individuals need a sense of group identification in order to maintain a sense of "well-being" (Lewin, 1948). The social identity theory, an expansion of the Social Comparison Theory (Festinger, 1954), addresses the problems of group affiliation when there are two competing groups and confronts the potential problems that may occur when living in a multicultural society.

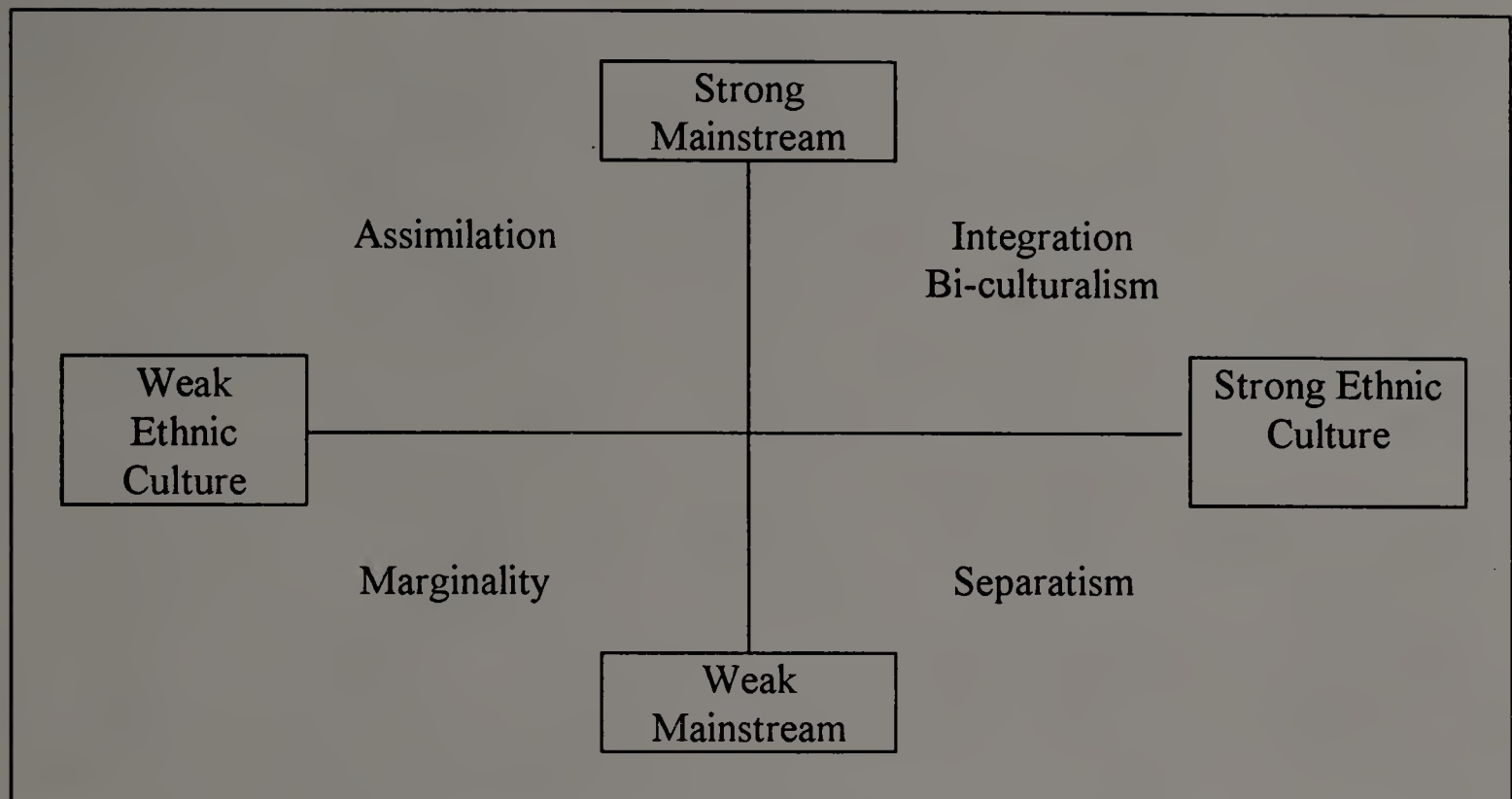
There are difficulties inherent with identification when two groups are present (Lewin, 1948; Tajfel, 1978). When one group is valued more than another, members of the low-status group may seek to improve their status in various ways. Those whose ethnicity is not distinct or those not identified by others as belonging to a different group may try to pass as a member of the higher status group. Some may try to develop a sense of group pride as suggested in the racial identity development theories in the preceding section (Cross, 1978; Jackson, 1976; Helms, 1990; Hardiman, 1982). Others try to stress the distinctiveness of their own ethnic group (Christensen, 1989). The high-status group employ many different strategies to maintain their distinctiveness and to keep the low-status group members out (Tajfel, 1978).

The Acculturation framework is based on the premise that ethnic identity is only meaningful when there are two or more ethnic groups in contact with each other

over a period of time. When an ethnic group is in a monocultural environment it does not have to be concerned with claiming its identity. Acculturation deals with the ways that members of ethnic groups change their attitudes, beliefs and values as a result of contact with another group and the ways in which members of targeted ethnic groups relate to their own group as a sub-group of the larger dominant culture. Acculturation is concerned more with the group as a whole than the person as an individual (Berry, Tremble & Olmedo, 1986).

Berry et al (1986) proposed a two-dimensional model that defined the relationship with ethnic culture and mainstream culture as separate and distinct. The model deals with cultural conflict and the psychological consequences of the conflict. It suggests four possible ways of resolving conflicts connected to ethnic group membership in a diverse society (See Table 2.2). Integration or biculturalism is a resolution which involves a strong identification with both the ethnic culture and the mainstream culture. Assimilation is a resolution which involves a strong identification with the mainstream culture and a weak ethnic identification. Separation is the resolution that is guided by a weak mainstream identification and a strong ethnic identification. Marginality describes the resolution that involves a weak identification with both. In addition, the acculturation models recognize that ethnic identity changes over time.

Table 2.2 Two-Dimensional Acculturation Model



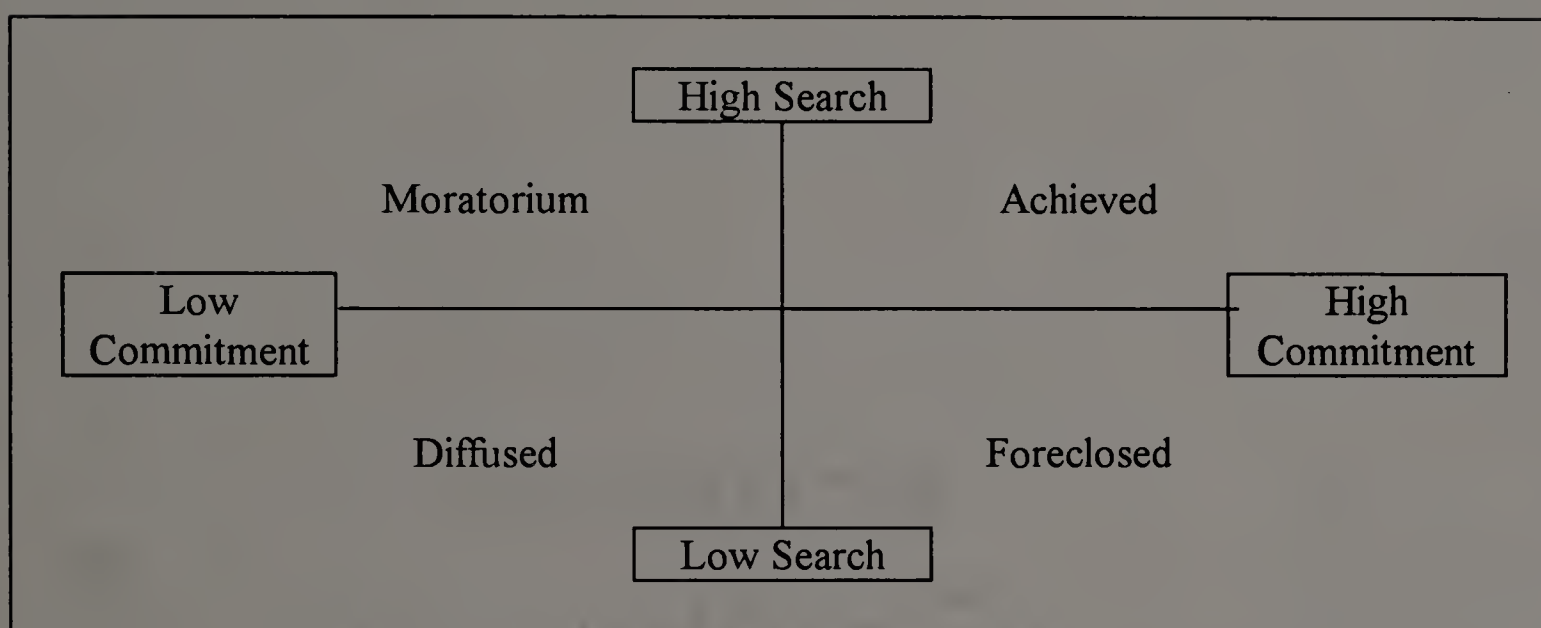
Ethnic identity formation is based on the principles of psychology and psychoanalysis. The framework is based on the ego-identity statuses conceived from Erikson (1968), operationalized by Marcia (1980) and applied to ethnic dimension of identity. Like ego formation, ethnic identity formation is achieved through an active process of decision making and self-identification.

The four positions in the ethnic identity formation were conceived of based on Marcia's typology where levels of search and commitment for one's ethnic identity were used to describe a person's ethnic identity formation (See Table 2.3). A Diffused identity is one where the individual is neither engaged in a search for ethnic identity nor has one made commitments about it. The Foreclosed ethnic identity is where the person has made commitments about her ethnic identity without exploration. The

commitment is based on information that she has received from other people.

Moratorium marks a position in which the person is actively exploring ethnic identity but has not made commitments. The person with an Achieved ethnic identity has made a firm commitment after a thorough exploration (Phinney, 1990).

Table 2.3 - Ethnic Identity Formation Framework



The ethnic identity formation framework assumes that with life experiences, the person has the potential to reach an Achieved ethnic identity. Moving toward the Achieved identity involves changing one's attitudes and behaviors as they are related to his or her own ethnic groups and other ethnic groups. Different attitudes and behaviors can be understood to reflect the different stages.



## Ethnic Identity Development Models

In this section two ethnic identity developmental models will be examined.

Phinney's (1989) model will be described first. This will be followed by an examination of the development steps described by Smith (1989). Both models treat all ethnic groups equally, with little or no recognition of racialization of different ethnic groups resulting ethnic stratification based on a perceived color-line.

### Phinney's Ethnic Identity Development Model (EIDM)

The EIDM is a three-stage model developed from the Marcia (1980) typology described previously. It describes a linear progression that moves from the unexamined ethnic identity through a period of exploration to an achieved/committed ethnic identity. The first stage is marked by an unexamined ethnic identity that exists as a Foreclosed identity or a Diffused identity. As a result of their position in society, White ethnic group members may not have experienced ethnicity. They have either accepted information from their parents or other important people with little exploration or they have just not given it any thought (Phinney, 1990).

In the second stage, movement is usually triggered by a significant event that forces ethnic awareness and the subsequent Moratorium is a period of intense exploration and immersion into the person's own culture. It may include rejection of the dominant culture in this case, rejection of affiliation with a White identity. The result of this exploration is a new understanding of a person's ethnic identity. Stage

three is the process of internalizing the new definition of one's ethnic identity, the period of Achievement. According to Parham (1989), ethnic identity achievement is not an ending. It is a spiraling process of continually rethinking and exploring of the role and meaning of a person's ethnic identity.

### Smith's Ethnic Identification Development Model

Smith's (1991) model is similar to other ethnic identity models in that it intentionally encompasses both majority and minority status. Critical in understanding the Smith model is understanding her hypothesis about the nature of oppression.

Smith proposes that:

the concept of majority/minority status be used to analyze the conflict between and among racial minority groups. The terms majority/minority status replace, then, the word oppression. The critical issue is status inequality. Oppression is perceived as just one result of majority/minority status (1991, p. 181).

According to Smith, ethnic identity is a life long process in which one moves from a state of unawareness to awareness of ethnic identity. The process is affected by contact and boundary line drawing (Barth, 1969). Typically, members of a person's ethnic group are inside the boundary lines and others are kept outside the lines. Ethnic identity development is the continual drawing of boundary lines and evaluating who can be inside and outside.

In multicultural societies a person's ethnic identity is impacted by the minority/majority status of that person's groups. Majority/minority groups experience conflicts which relate to their status in society. The conflicts may challenge an

individual's ethnic identity. Individuals experiencing conflicts move through four steps: pre-occupation with self or preservation of ethnic self identity; preoccupation with ethnic conflict and with the salient outer boundary group; resolution of the conflict; and integration. The phases are repeated with each salient ethnic group conflict. Healthy resolution of salient conflicts allows the person to progress toward ethnic identity formation.

### Comparison of Racial and Ethnic Identity Development Models

The four models discussed above were chosen because each helps to define White identity development process. As mentioned throughout, the most significant difference between the racial and ethnic identity development models is way in which oppression is perceived to play a role in the identity development process. The ethnic identity development models are grounded in a framework in which all ethnic groups are perceived of as equal. On the other hand, the racial identity development models take into account the consequences of racism on both the dominant and subordinate groups. By comparing and contrasting the models, a better understanding of the White identity development process will be attained.

Phinney (1990) developed a general ethnic identity development model from the frameworks that guided ethnic identity development research, namely acculturation, social identity theory and ethnic identity formation. This three-stage model provides insight into the process by which individuals attain Achieved ethnic

identities. In review, the first stage is one of the "given" ethnic identity. The second stage is marked by rejection of dominant norms and redefinition. The final stage is one of integration (Phinney, 1989). In comparison, the White racial identity models trace the process of developing a positive racial identity and share a similar linear, stage-like approach to defining development as defined by Phinney. The major difference is in the expansion of Phinney's second stage (See Table 2.4).

The White racial identity development models differ in focus, such that the Helms model is an interpersonal model and the Hardiman model is an intrapersonal model. Consequently, the description or content of stage markers also differ in that a stage in one model maybe conceived of as a critical junction or transition in the other. For example, Reintegration, Stage 2 of the Helms model, closely resembles a transition between Acceptance (Stage 2) and Redefinition (Stage 3) in the Hardiman model.

Finally, the model presented by Smith (1990) can be used to examine the progress through the stages within the racial and ethnic identity development models namely, an individual moves through a linear set of four steps as s/he progress through the stage. As described earlier, the person is first preoccupied with preserving the current salient identity, and contact with a different group results in conflict. Preoccupation with the conflict marks the second steps, and resolution of the conflict is the third step. The resolution determines the outcome of the fourth step, internalization.



Table 2.4 - Comparison of White Racial and Ethnic Identity Development Models

|                      |           |                         |                                   |                         |              |
|----------------------|-----------|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| Marcia<br>1966, 1980 | Diffusion | Foreclosure             | Crisis*                           | Moratorium              | Achieved     |
| Helms<br>1990        |           | Contact                 | Disintegration /<br>Reintegration | Pseudo-<br>Independence | Autonomy     |
| Hardiman<br>1984     | passive   | Acceptance<br>active    | Resistance<br>passive    active   | Redefinition            | Internalized |
| Phinney<br>1989      | Diffused  | Unexamined<br>Forclosed | Search                            |                         | Achieved     |

\* Crisis was not one of Marcia's (1960) original stages

Modified from: Phinney, 1990, p. 503

Through the stage-like process described in these models and the steps in the process described in the Smith model, the developmental process of White identity can be understood. With resolution of the conflicts presented by contact with another racial group (or ideas regarding other groups) a person has the ability to change her world view. As s/he solidifies these ideas, s/he enters a new stage of understanding his or her relationship with others in a racist culture. This continual re-evaluation repeats itself in a cyclical fashion, where by s/he evaluates each new conflict from a different world view. At each stage s/he gains a more complex ability to understand his or her position in the society.

The stages of racial and ethnic identity are frequently the study of empirical research. The following section will look at an overview of the empirical literature gathered on the research of White identity to better understand the complexities of this phenomena.

### Empirical Research on White Identity

The two models most often operationalized to measure White identity are the Ethnic Identity Development Model (Phinney, 1988, 1992) and the model of White Racial Identity Development (Helms, 1984, 1990). Both offer insight to the process through which a White person develops a healthy racial and ethnic identity.

The results of the research operationalizing the Ethnic Identity Development Model indicate that ethnic identity is significantly more important to students of color

than to White students (Phinney & Alipuria, 1987) and that Whites who committed to their identity from a Foreclosed position (with little evidence of search) showed lower self-esteem (White & Burke, 1987). In addition, targeted group members typically have higher search scores than White participants. Two conclusions have been drawn from these studies. First, target group members engage in the process of search and commitment at an earlier age than White group members. Second, Whites often begin in the Foreclosed position (Phinney, 1988).

Empirical research based on the model of White Racial Identity Development (Helms, 1984, 1990) describes changes in a person's attitudes towards other racial groups. Results of research with the model and the WRIAS include a curvi-linear relationship between White racial identity consciousness and perceived comfort with Black individuals (Claney & Parker, 1989) and significant gender differences in the relationship between White racial identity attitudes and racism in college students (Carter, 1990). A similar curvi-linear relationship was also found with Self-actualization scores (Tokar & Swanson, 1991) and personal self-concept scores (Haskins, 1992). Both were negatively correlated with lower stages of White identity development and positively correlated with higher stages. These findings provide insight into the complexity of the phenomenon of White identity development.

In light of all that has been learned about being a member of the White racial group, current research has provided conflicting information regarding the validity and reliability of the models and tools. In particular, there are a lot of questions about the

validity and reliability of the Helms model because this model has been used for empirical research. Similar questions do not exist for the Hardiman model because this does not have empirical testing. Four recent studies have questioned the validity of the stages as measured by the WRIAS (Alexander, 1992; Davidson, 1991; Grander, 1991; Haskins, 1992;). Significant inter-correlations and only limited validity were found among the WRIAS sub-scales.

Questions about validity and reliability are important for researchers to address. However, reducing these models into static stage constructs and then trying to prove or disprove the pure constructs is once again an example of the way in which research and theory is shaped by and shapes the context in which it is executed or developed. It is from a privileged position that researchers are able to spend time grappling with the models from this perspective. The social identity development models were developed to "explain reactions to a social environmental anomaly" (Helms, 1990, p. 84) providing road marks which allow them to prepare interventions which are developmentally sound (Adams & Marchesani, 1992; Tatum, 1992). The models were not developed for empirical research, rather, empirical research typically measures the cognitive and attitudinal components of the models. Hence validity and reliability falls primarily in the various arenas cognitive development such as conceptualization skills, and reliance upon stereotypes.

From the information contained within the historical analysis and the introduction to White identity models and research we can formulate a number of



assumptions upon which this study will be based. First, White, as a racial group, is shaped in a racist culture. Second, White identity is complex, encompassing aspects such as: (1) sense of self as White, (2) attitudes and beliefs about other racial groups, and (3) definitions of racism. Finally, since each of these three aspects has related developmental skills (self knowledge, multiple perspective taking, conceptual development), White identity is conceived of as developmental and only through a multi-dimensional inquiry will we come to understand the ways in which educators can influence anti-racist work with White people.

In the next section, literature from social psychology, cognitive and social cognitive development are reviewed. These bodies of literature were chosen because they best inform the investigation of the aspects described in assumptions above which guided the development of the research questions. The section will begin with an introduction to the social psychology literature to better understand the ways in which stereotypes are relied upon and challenged through prejudice reduction strategies. This will be followed by an overview of relevant cognitive development literature as it informs the development of conceptualization skills and will conclude with social cognitive literature as it informs the process of self-reflection. Through investigations of social cognitive development as it shapes Self-Knowledge, social psychology as it informs the use of stereotypes and prejudice reduction, and cognitive development as it shapes the conceptualization of racism, one should be better equipped to understand

the diversity found within the White identity development process of White college students.

### Social Psychology

Social psychology is the study of how human behavior is influenced by interactions with humans as individuals and as members of groups for whom perceptions are developed in a historical context. Social Psychology examines factors which effect behavior including individual cognition (perceptions and beliefs), affect (attitudes), and motivations. Each of these factors are influenced by the presence of, beliefs about or symbolic representations of others.

### Stereotyping

Social cognition informs the way in which stereotyping occurs across and between groups. Categories are created based on physical, cultural and behavioral features. Stereotyping involves assigning descriptions of entire groups to individual members of that group.

One perspective on stereotyping is that people will first categorize others, then examine attributes in order to assess the original category (Fiske, Neuberg, Bettie, & Millberg, 1987). The category serves a cognitive function intended to help a person manage information. A second perspective is that a person will form impressions based on isolated information in a process that is informed by the affective results of

the situation (Fiske et al, 1987; Johnston & Hewstone, 1990). These two perspectives are seen as the ends of continuum. It is expected, that for efficiency, most people will use first use category based reactions and rely on attribute-based reactions when the attribute does not fit a category or if a category does not exist at all (Fiske et al, 1987; Fiske & Neuberg, 1990).

Race, as a salient group membership, is a category by which people organize information. Through the socialization process (including positive and negative individual interactions, media images and institutional and cultural reinforcements), Whites have acquired stereotypes of themselves and other racial groups. It can be assumed that most interactions between White individuals and members of other racial groups results from categorical based reactions unless there is reason to perform another way. The motivational factors that encourage utilization of the individuating process will be discussed in the next section.

### Affective Development and Prejudice

In order to truly understanding the stereotyping process, one needs to examine the intersection between cognitive and affective process (Devine & Moneith, 1993). Research supports the idea that one's source of agency or motivation plays an important role in the recognition of and adherence to stereotypes about other groups. Developing internal standards about the use of stereotypes is one of the first steps in renouncing prejudice. "The self generated affect that follows from violations of non-



prejudice values plays an important role in the future control and regulation of stereotype-based responses" (Devine & Monteith, 1993, p. 318).

Prejudice is a learned trait based on the category and attribute stereotypes that are solidly reinforced in society. Prejudice reduction involves more than renouncing stereotypes. It involves making a commitment to a new set of values and constantly negotiating old ideas in new contexts (Devine, 1989; Monteith, Devine & Zuwerink, 1993). Low prejudice people, defined as those who have set internal values of not responding from a prejudiced position, learn to avoid using stereotypes. This can occur when they have enough time to negotiate the situation and allow their intended response to surface (Devine, 1989).

The extent to which people have truly internalized personal standards is often reflected in their reactions to discrepancies between their actual behaviors and their standards. People who have an internalized sense of agency often describe clear internal responses such as guilt and shame when they have not met their own expectations (Holzman, 1995). Those individuals with externally grounded standards or no internal agency often describe feeling general discomfort with self or anger directed at the external source of dissonance when they realize that their behaviors don't meet their expectations. Devine & Monteith (1993) found that big discrepancies between a person's actual behavior and standards resulted in strong affective reactions associated with compunction. Hence, prejudice reduction for people who have set



internal standards becomes in part a negotiation of information in a way in which to avoid the affective results of inconsistent behavior.

Reliance upon stereotypes and prejudice reduction techniques are dependent upon the extent to which a person relies on external authorities or internal standards. While these are important to aspects of racial identity, two key aspects remains to be examined. Understanding self in relation to racism as a complex social system is a central part of the racial identity process. In the following section, cognitive development literature is examined to better understand the ways in which students learn to coordinate individual units in relationship with a broader social context. This is useful in the examination of White students' definition of racism because it will enable us to understand how these students see themselves in relation to a societal context which is racially stratified and in relation to people of color who have a different perspective of the societal context.

### Cognitive Development

Cognitive development is described as involving orderly changes in thinking from simple ideas to complex, systemic forms of thought (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberg, & Tarule, 1986; Fischer, 1980; Kitchner & Fischer, 1990; Kitchner & King, 1981; Perry, 1970). College students are often the subjects of studies which demonstrate that young adults develop complex skills across a number of cognitive domains

including: complex thinking, self-reflection, tolerance and multiple perspective taking (Baxter-Magolda, 1983; Belenky, et al, 1986; Kitchner & King, 1984; Perry, 1970).

Belenkey, et al. (1986) and Perry (1970) propose related cognitive development models which examine individuals' conclusions about truth, knowledge and authority. Belenky et al. examined a connected way of knowing in which emotion, intuition and personal connections are valued. Perry identified cognitive development as the acquisition of formal cognitive skills marked by greater independence from authority and increased recognition of context. While each of these sets of skills can make important contributions to the development of a non-racist White identity they do not specifically address the problem of understanding racism as a complex societal issue. For the purpose of this study, the Conceptualization of Racism Model (Bidell, Lee, Bouchie, McIntyre & Ward, 1993; Lee, Bidell, Bouchie, Ward, Co, & Brass, 1994), a Perry based tool, will be used to analyze the students understanding of racism. To this end, the following section will serve as a brief introduction to the Perry Scheme and will be followed by a description of the Conceptualization of Racism model.

### The Perry Scheme

Cognitive development, as outlined through the Perry (1970) scheme, is characterized by movement from dualistic thinking toward a contextual way of organizing thoughts, and from an external to an internal locus of control. The scheme

provides a useful framework from which to examine a person's ability to manage multiple perspectives and to account for the lack of certainties in social problems such as the conceptual understanding of racism.

The model tracks the process through which a person move as s/he gradually changes world views. Dualism, the first stage, is represented by a world view that knowledge is absolute and authorities provide the correct information. A dualistic thinker believes that information has clear right/wrong, good/bad qualities. A shift from Dualism is marked by the realization that some uncertainties do exist, that truth is not always known and choices are driven by a person's perspectives. Multiplicity, the second stage, is a confusing period in which a person is often overwhelmed by ambiguity and strong opinions seem prejudicial or biased. Movement towards Contextual thinking, the third stage, occurs as s/he begins to recognize personal responsibility for autonomous thinking. Once context is recognized as important, the person transitions into Commitment, the final stage, in which decisions are based on critical thinking and qualitative judgment (Bennett, n.d.; Adams & McGovern-Zhou, 1993, 1994).

Two studies have used variations of the Perry scheme as tools to examine the way in which college students make meaning while dealing with issues of oppression. Adams and McGovern-Zhou (1994) examined cognitive developmental changes based upon the assumption that thinking systematically about racism and oppression might facilitate more complex thinking particularly if that learning was done experientially.



Measures of epistemological development (Baxter-Magolda, 1983) and moral judgment (Rest, 1979) were conducted at the beginning and end of the course. The results showed significant changes reflected in positive increases in both areas. the course, it self, is designed as an intervention. It was conducted with a balance of experiential and lecture-based learning.

The second study moved beyond confirming developmental changes in a class setting to postulating a constructive-developmental model of how college students conceptualize racism in the context of a course work on cultural diversity (Bidell, et al., 1993; Lee et al., 1994). The Conceptualization of Racism model describes the progression by which many White students come to understand racism as a complex construct. As described previous this Conceptualization of Racism Model will be used in this study. The following is a summary of the model.

### Conceptualization of Racism: A Constructive-Developmental Model

The Conceptualization of Racism model is developed base upon the assumptions that thinking about racism involves increasingly more complex thinking and increasing more ability to take perspective. Therefore, they take a developmental perspective. The model describes a five-step process through which many young White adults move while trying to make sense of racism (Bidell, et al., 1993; Lee et al., 1994). Step-1, Individual Prejudice, is represented by thinking about racism in simple forms expressed in bipolar categories. Racism is reduced to dualistic categories



with a lack of recognition of relationships between the categories. Advancement to Step-2, Individual Prejudice Conflicted, results from recognition of complicating factors that conflict with one's dualistic view. Step-3, Multiplicity of Inequalities, is achieved when the student begins to view racism as a complex problem composed of more than one factor, although, the factors remain uncoordinated because the relationships between them are not recognized.

As the student begins to coordinate the categories into systems, s/he moves into Step-4, Partial System of Inequality. At this point, relations between specific categories are recognized but not fully intercoordinated. Step-5, Systematic Racism, is achieved when the person can articulate the interrelated nature of the social categories. Students at Step-5 can understand such concepts as systematic privilege and they can begin to understand why, in the United States, it is typically Whites who oppress people of color (Bidell, et al., 1993; Lee, et al, 1994).

Cognitive development, as it is presented through the Perry Scheme and applied in the Conceptualization of the Racism Model, provides insight into the ways in which individuals understand and interact with racism. It provides a vision of the cumulative skills which are necessary for White students to coordinate (1) their sense of self in relation to the systemic nature of racism and (2) in relation to people of color who hold a different perspective of the social context. Consequently, it also provides educators with a mapping of tasks which can serve as interventions to support the acquisition of cognitive skills which are necessary in the White identity development

process. One final set of skills are essential in the development of White identity, namely, the ability to reflect upon one's self. The social cognitive development literature provides a foundation from which to examine the process.

### Social Cognitive Development

Implicit in the descriptions of racial and ethnic identity development processes is an intra-psychic phenomena of defining self, the ability to self-reflect or take perspective of self (Bennett, n.d.). Social cognitive development literature identifies the skills of defining self as the developmental processes involved in learning to recognize and manage one's own consciousness. The processes include, but are not limited to: intuition, understanding hunches, indescribable spiritual experiences, and internally processed experiences.

For the purpose of this project, Self-Knowledge will be defined as "the external products of internally processed experiences (Weinstein & Alschuler, 1985, p. 19)." In the section that follows, Self-Knowledge is examined through the Self-Knowledge Development model (Weinstein & Alschuler, 1985; Weinstein, 1991).

### Self-Knowledge

Self-Knowledge is defined by the ways in which people learn how to describe, anticipate and manage experiences in intentional, effective manners (Weinstein & Alschuler, 1985). Self-Knowledge is informed by a person's conscious awareness of

sensations, feelings, thoughts and actions. The information is sorted through categorization, causality and hypothesizing alternative actions and results. This model can be useful in the examination of the ways in which White people experience their lives in a racially stratified society.

Weinstein and Alschuler (1985) originally described Self-Knowledge as consisting of four stages that were hierarchical and integrative. Through a skills analysis (Fischer, 1980) of the tasks in the Self-Knowledge process, Weinstein (1991) revised the Self-Knowledge stages to include four stages: Elemental, Situational, Pattern and Transformational where Situational and Pattern stages each have two sub-stages: Situational 1 and Situational 2, Pattern 1 and Pattern 2. Each of the stages describe a person's increased ability to focus on self as an agent of his or her reactions and responses in situations. The following is a brief summary of the revised Self-Knowledge stages.

The Elemental self-knower describes incidents as sets of fragmented thoughts, similar to the way in which an event could be recorded through a camera. The description lacks causality, classification or interpretation. There is no summary that would lead the interpreter to believe that elements belong to a single coherent event. Internal states are limited to five feelings (happy, sad, like, hope and want).

The Situational knower can describe whole situations. Situational-1 thinkers can report inner states beyond the five elemental feelings (including: nervous, calm, steady, etc.) and can report causation to make links between actions and inner states.



The Situational-2 thinker can coordinate actions and inner states into a clear, coherent event. However, most responses are still linked to external causes lacking an awareness of internal agency. The Situational thinker (both 1 and 2) lacks consistent sets of internal responses. The primary sources of stimuli are external forces.

A Pattern thinker can describe stable internal responses that are reactions to a class of situations and remain consistent across situations. A Pattern-1 person can assign a set of internal responses to a class of situations in the form of a pattern. However, the situations remain relatively global and undifferentiated. The Pattern-1 thinker reports very limited internal, intrapsychic conflict as having responsibility for the pattern. The Pattern-2 demonstrates evidence of internal conflict and integrated pattern descriptions. The Pattern-2 thinker will describe internal dialogues and demonstrate reciprocity between external and internal stimuli.

The Transformational thinker discovers the basic intrapsychic principle by which dysfunctional patterns operate and can describe specific internal strategies for interventions. The person describes how they consciously modify, monitor and manage their inner patterns. They recognize that they have the capacity to create inner states.

As stated above the Self-Knowledge model will be used to examine the ways in which White people experience their lives in a racially stratified society. This model will be used to analysis the participants' reflections on a critical time when they felt as if they were treated differently because of their White identity.



White identity development is the result of racial and ethnic identity development in a social context. Each stage is represented through qualitatively different interrelated tasks of cognitive and social cognitive development. While Self-Knowledge, stereotyping and conceptualization skills are not the only skills associated with White identity development, these areas provide a starting point from which to begin an integrated study of this phenomenon. This study seeks to illuminate several of the many developmental areas related to White identity development as they emerge and change in conjunction with participating in a sociology class focused on social problems. The purpose of this study is to examine the way in which a group of White traditional-aged college students make meaning about their White identity.

## CHAPTER 3

### DESIGN AND METHODS

#### Introduction

The purpose of this study, as noted in chapters 1 and 2, is to better understand the ways in which White college students come to understand their White identity. Such an investigation calls for an in-depth phenomenological inquiry into the meaning that White college students make about their White identity. For that reason, my study is informed by three aspects: (1) a person's sense of self as White, (2) a person's attitudes and beliefs about other racial groups, and (3) a person's definition of racism. The goal was to provide rich descriptions of the variability that exists in the meaning White colleges students' make of being White. This chapter begins with a brief philosophical introduction to the overall approach of the study, followed by a section which describe the setting, access, population, and concludes with a description of the study.

#### Overall Approach

A multi-dimensional inquiry was used to analyze the complex interaction of self-reflection, behaviors, attitudes, feelings and cognition as each informs the ways in which White students construct meaning about their White identity. It takes a developmental perspective because I see the process of racial identity as developmental rather than learned. As described in Chapter 2, thinking about racial

identity requires skills such as self-reflection, conceptualization, and coordination of multiple perspectives. The literature treats these skills as developmental in that each moves from simplicity to complexity in their respective domains. Cumulatively, this results in distinct worldviews.

The design involved both quantitative and qualitative methods. It was expected that some quantitative judgments could be made about the forty person sample. Quantitative data were elicited through three written probes which generated (1) demographic information, (2) extensive narratives about critical incidents in which the students reflected on being treated differently because of their racial identities and (3) definitions of racism. The analysis of critical incidents was used to assess the participants' ability to self reflect as measured through the Self-Knowledge model. The definitions of racism were gathered in a pre-test, post-test format to assess participants' ability to conceptualize racism as measured through the Conceptualization of Racism model. Both models are described in detail in Chapter 2. The descriptive data generated in the quantitative processes provided demographic descriptions (such as age, class year, self-ascription of race and ethnicity) which were used as variables in a correlation analysis with thematic variables and scores on the developmental protocols.

It was expected that a smaller sample could be probed in-depth for rich qualitative descriptions of the variables defined in the quantitative process. In-depth interviews of a select sample of ten students were conducted to gather rich

descriptions of students' reflections on their White identity. The qualitative process provided data that have "depth, detail and meaning at a very personal level of the experience" (Patton, 1990, p. 18). Both paradigms were incorporated together as complementary contributors to answer the research questions. In the following section, the details of the setting, access and populations are presented.

### Setting, Access and Population

The study took place in an introductory sociology class at a large Pacific-Northwest university. This course is one of many general education classes that fill core requirements within the university curriculum. The focus of this course was social problems (racism, sexism, etc.) as the problems are defined from a sociological perspective which examines the socialization process as it is informed by three interacting levels of oppression, namely, individual institutional, and cultural oppression. The course was conducted as a lecture with a discussion session. So, while the students are exposed to theory and lecture, there was little impetus for them to engage with the content on a more personal level because instruction was not intended to be an experiential intervention. Historically, each 75-student section was likely to be more than 60% female and 75-80% White. The majority of the students were first year students.

I received permission from the Sociology Department and two veteran instructors to use their classes as data gathering sites. My presentation of the study



was overt and both instructors offered their support. Their positive response contributed towards making this an ideal research site, so that entry was both possible (Marshall & Rossman, 1989) and welcomed (Jorgenson, 1989).

Purposeful sampling was conducted for the quantitative data collection and the first thematic analysis. One hundred and seventeen students completed one or more of the written protocols. The sample was first narrowed by eliminating sixteen students who self-identified as members of racial groups other than White or who self-identified as bi-racial. The remaining one hundred and one participant sample was further narrowed to forty based on the following criteria: (1) those students who were born and raised in the United States, (2) those students who were part of the traditional college age group (18-25) and (3) those students who had already completed all three written data collection protocols.

As I moved from quantitative data from 40 participants to a smaller sample for in-depth inquiry, I asked an independent coder to identify candidates for interviews. These students were chosen on the basis of Self-Knowledge scores (See the Data Collection section for a description of the protocol ) that reflected a broad range. Ten students agreed to be interviewed.

Before moving to the Description of the Study, it is important to pause for a moment to reflect on the limitations inherent in volunteer participation in a study such as this. First, participants may intentionally change their responses to appear politically correct, or may use socially desirable answers rather than truly honest ones.

Additionally, if one is to allow for the assumption that racial identity is developmental, one needs to account for the different developmental reasons why a participant would involve or not involve one's self in a study of this nature (Helms, 1990). This will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6. Now I will continue with the Description of the Study in which the Data Collection, Data Management and Sequence of the process will be discussed.

### Description of the Study

As described above, I used in-depth phenomenological inquiry for the qualitative analysis in this study because I intended to examine several interrelated factors that I consider to be part of White students racial identity. These factors, as noted earlier, include: (1) a student's sense of self as White, (2) a student's attitudes and beliefs about other racial groups, and (3) a student's definition of racism. Through an intensive description (Merriam, 1988), I hoped to analyze the various aspects of White identity in their interactions with each and within the context in which they occur (Jorgensen, 1989). In the next section the Data Collection process will be discussed. This will be followed by a discussion of the Data Management process and a summary of the Sequence of the Process. A matrix depicting the exact timeline of the study is provided in the final section.

## Data Collection

The Personal Information Sheet, the Conceptualization of Racism Test, the Experience Recall protocol and the in-depth interviews were selected for the content and the developmental structure that they would elicit. These protocols and interviews served both qualitative and quantitative functions. The following section describes the data collection process for each function. Description of the protocols and methods are provided.

### The Quantitative Process

A Personal Information sheet, the Conceptualization of Racism Test and the Experience Recall protocol were used to collect quantitative information from the forty student sample. These protocols were chosen based on the content they have provided in pilot tests and in other research projects. As semi-structured written data collection instruments, the Personal Information sheet, the Conceptualization of Racism Test and the Experience Recall protocol shared similar limitations. First, each required responses which needed to be communicated in writing, which could offer a conservative assessment of ability or skill (Rest, 1979). Additionally, these data collection protocols may be limited by the students' desire to distort their responses to be more socially desirable (Borg & Gall, 1989). Finally, while it was assumed that the classroom environment would assist in communicating the seriousness of the tasks, these protocols were limited in that they only offer a snap shot of individuals in a

particular context. The following is a description of the data collection protocols.

Copies of the protocols are found in the Appendix.

The Personal Information Sheet. This demographic solicitor was constructed for three reasons. First, students provided a personal identification number that they would use on the rest of the written protocols as a way to maintain their anonymity. Second, students provided responses for eight demographic categories: age, academic major, class year, years at the university, gender, race, ethnicity, and religion. Finally, students described their families and the size and racial composition of their high schools. The demographic information and the responses to the open-ended questions were solicited as possible variables for the correlation analysis.

Conceptualization of Racism Test. The Conceptualization of Racism Test (CRT) is designed to solicit information to assess the students' abilities to conceptualize racism as it is measured through the of Conceptualization Racism Model (Bidell et al, 1993; Lee et al, 1994). The model describes five steps, marking positions of increased complexity in students definitions of racism. The model is developmental in that it moves from simple dualistic definitions to definitions that recognize the systemic nature of racism (refer to Chapter 2 for a detailed discussion of the five steps.) The instrument is a written questionnaire that asks participants to define the nature of racism (Part A) and the cause(s) of racism (Part B). The instrument is



distributed at the beginning and end of the semester in a pre-test, post-test format to measure any change that might occur over the semester.

Theoretical validity exists for the model through a comparison with the Perry Scheme of Epistemological Development (Perry, 1970) and through a comparison the skills theory (Fischer, 1980) from which it was devised. The protocol was developed and used in one prior study (Bidell et al, 1993; Lee et al, 1994) in which coding was completed with 81% inter-rater agreement. Coding procedures are discussed in the Data Management Section.

The Experience Recall Protocol. The Experience Recall Protocol (ERII) is designed to solicit data reflective of students' ability to demonstrate self reflection through descriptions, predictions, and management of inner experiences (Weinstein & Alschuler, 1985). The Self-Knowledge model includes four stages: Elemental, Situational, Pattern and Transformational. The Situational and Pattern stages have two sub-stages. See Chapter 2 for a detailed description of the stages.

Like the CRT, the Self-Knowledge model and protocol gain theoretical validity from their comparison with comparable works (Belenkey et al, 1986; Gilligan, 1982, Kitchner & King, 1981; Perry, 1981). In previous applications of the ERII coders reached 84% agreement in assigning stages scores (Weinstein & Alshuler, 1985).

Originally, the ERII was designed to allow participants to explore any self-defined personal problem. It was modified for this study to ask students to think of

the first or a significant time in which they were treated differently because of their racial identity. The students self-ascribed their racial identity and were left to define "treated differently" themselves.

Content and structural coding procedures for the CRT and the ERII (described in detail in the Data Management sections) were followed carefully. The participants' identities were kept separate from the data during the collection and analysis process. A content analysis was conducted as an on-going process as data were transcribed. The themes and topics which emerged from the three written protocols were used as variables in the quantitative analysis; all of the themes and variables provided the basis for the interviews in the qualitative process described below.

### The Qualitative Process

Classroom observations were conducted during the class sessions in which racism was the focus of discussion. Observations were conducted to gather information presented in class and to familiarize myself with the attitudes White students demonstrated towards the topic. This information was referred to during the interviews to establish more personal relationships with the participants.

In-depth interviews were used as a major source of qualitative data for this study. The interviews provided insights about what was important from the perspective of the participants, the meanings, perspectives, and definitions they created, and how they viewed, categorized, and experienced their White identity

(Marshall & Rossman, 1989). A general interview guide was used to ensure that a systematic approach was followed for each interview. The guide examined ten areas that would assist in the analysis of the research questions and included: (1, 2) self-ascription of race and ethnicity, (3) descriptions of family or important people's racial and or ethnic attitudes, (4) description of racially-based critical events in high school and college, (5) reflection upon an incident in which someone was treated differently because of his or her racial identity, (6) reflection upon an incident when the interviewee was treated differently because of his/her racial identity, (7) definition of racism, (8, 9) description of worst racist actions and least racist actions, and (10) assessment of the campus climate (a copy of the interview guide is in the appendix.) Application of the interview questions was loose so as to allow for flexibility and freedom to build upon each participants' conversation. I encouraged the participants to speak freely about the questions that interested them most (Patton, 1990).

Each of the ten semi-guided interviews lasted approximately one and a half hours. To ensure accuracy and clarification, copies of the transcripts were shared with participants. They were provided the opportunity to confirm or edit their responses. Four out of ten chose to return the transcripts with some corrections and clarifications.

## Data Management

### The Quantitative Process

Students completed a Personal Information sheet and a release statement when they began the process. Throughout the semester they were invited to complete the pre- and post-test of the CRT and the ERII. The data from the CRT was transcribed after both the pre- and post-tests were completed. The data from the ERII was transcribed as it was received. All protocols were examined first for themes and content, and then for structural or developmental scores. Coding procedures were followed carefully.

The Personal Information Sheet. Responses to eight demographic categories: age, academic major, class year, years at the university, gender, race, ethnicity, and religion and two open-ended questions requesting descriptions of family and size and racial composition of high schools were solicited. Six of these categories as well as the themes and topics that emerged from the open ended questions were considered as variables for the quantitative analysis.

Race was the first category considered to identify those students who self-identified as White or Caucasian (those students who identified as human with a supporting ethnic descriptor were also included.) Next ethnicity was examined to cross-reference for students with bi-racial identities who would not be included as participants in the study and to explore the language students used to self-ascribe



ethnic group membership. The ethnic group descriptors were grouped under two sub-categories: ethnic descriptors (family origins, religion, geographic locations) and racial descriptors. The last demographic categories considered as variables were age, gender, and class year. Major, years at the institutions and religion were not considered as variables.

The students' descriptions of their high school were grouped together as predominantly White or racially mixed in the following three sub-categories according to size: large high schools with total student populations of 1000 or more, medium high schools with total student populations of 500-999 students and small high schools with total populations of 499 or less. Private and public affiliations were noted when mentioned. The students' descriptions of family were only used during the interviews as a way in which to begin conversations and to reference past experiences.

Conceptualization of Racism Test. The CRT responses were transcribed at the end of the semester, after both the pre-test and post-test were gathered. A content analysis was conducted on all of the responses. Topics were identified and grouped together by themes. None of the themes were used in the quantitative analysis. The thematic analysis preceded the developmental analysis because I wanted to be sure that my thematic analysis would not be tainted by knowledge of developmental positions.

Following the thematic analysis, all responses were scored for structural complexity based on the five-step Conceptualization of Racism model. Each response

was given credit for the most complex level of conceptualization, by assigning a whole unit score for definition/nature of racism (Part A), and cause(s) (Part B). An independent coder also scored all of the CRT responses for developmental positions. We shared an 88% rate of coder agreement. Coding disagreements were resolved collaboratively. After coming to consensus on the optimal scores for the pre-test and post-test, an average score (mean of Part A and B) was calculated. Finally, a change score was calculated by finding the numerical difference between the average pre-test and average post-test scores.

Experience Recall Protocol. The ERII responses were transcribed as they were collected. A content analysis was conducted on the responses to identify topics and themes that might be used as variables in the correlations analysis. Two theme clusters emerged for consideration: age of first recognition of own racial identity and ways in which a person recognized his/her own racial identity.

Next, the ERII responses were scored according to the levels of Self-Knowledge as conceived by Weinstein (1991). Each protocol was scored for its highest representation. An independent coder scored thirty of the seventy protocols in which we shared a 90% rate of coder-agreement. The coding procedures were reviewed to resolve disagreement and I was responsible for the structural analysis of the remaining ERIIs.

Quantitative Analysis. A correlation analysis was used to explore what statistical relationships if any existed between the twelve variables identified through the three written data gathering protocols. The independent variables included descriptive variables (age, gender, class year, size and type of high school, race, and ethnicity) and thematic variables (age at time of first recognition of own racial identity and ways of recognizing one's racial identity). The dependent variables included the ERII scores and the average pre-test, average post-test, and change scores on the CRT (See Table 4.2). Each variable in the quantitative analysis was chosen based on assumptions presented in the racial and ethnic identity literature.

There were no statistically significant relationships between any of the variables. However, there were patterns that should be examined in future research. The patterns related to the CRT include: (1) the majority of students started the class with a limited ability to define racism, (2) the majority of students ended the class in similar positions such that primarily stability with some limited change characterized the students' scores. The patterns for the ERII included: (1) the majority of students are at a Situational stage of Self-Knowledge, (2) experience in school, rather than age was associated with increased Self-Knowledge skills, and (3) women had higher scores than men, reflecting slightly more developed Self-Knowledge skills. These trends are examined in Chapter 4.

## The Qualitative Process

The qualitative process included two separate components. First a thematic analysis was conducted by examining the data from written protocols and the interviews. The second component was a developmental analysis of the themes clusters identified through the thematic analysis. Both components are described in detail below.

Thematic Analysis. As stated previously, the in-depth interviews were the primary source of data for the qualitative process. Some of the topics and themes identified in the responses from the CRT and ERII data were incorporated into the interview process so that they could be examined in greater detail. Definitions of racism and types of interactions involved in racism were chosen from the CRT data, and ways of being treated differently, general beliefs about members of racial groups and descriptions of being White were chosen from the ERII responses. These topics and theme clusters were part of the ten content areas identified previously which guided the interviews.

Transcriptions were made for each interview. Originally the transcripts were read and reread for the purpose of identifying content labels which were noted in the margins. I developed topics from the content labels with headings including: "use of stereotypes," "meaning of whiteness," "me vs. group," "self-reflection." Particular



topic headings consistently appeared in all interviews. Some topic headings such as "focus on Blacks" were interesting, but not directly relevant to the research questions.

Finally, I reread the transcripts and coded content that addressed each question, namely, "How do traditional-aged White college students describe themselves in terms of their White identity?," "How do traditional-aged White college students demonstrate and/or describe their attitudes and beliefs about other racial groups?," and "How do traditional-aged White college students define and describe racism?" Quotes related to each research question were gathered together. Some quotes corresponded to more than one research question and were included in the analysis of each question so that the interconnections between questions would be maintained. Once grouped together, I read sets of quotes to identify sub-themes or relationships between themes which eventually contributed to the developmental analysis. I often referred back to the original interviews to provide a context for the quotes.

Seven theme clusters most directly related to the research questions were identified and include: (1) Definitions of race, ethnicity and self-ascription by race and ethnicity, (2) Recognition of differential treatment based on own racial identity, (3) Characteristics of being White, (4) General beliefs about other racial groups, (5) Identification of external influence, degree of internal agency, stereotypes and feelings, (6) Anecdotes of racial interactions involved in racism, and (7) Perspectives on racism. I then organized the clusters in relationship to the research questions such that, theme

clusters 1, 2, and 3 relate to Question 1, “How do traditional-aged White college students describe themselves in terms of the White identity?” Clusters 4 and 5 relate to Question 2, “How do traditional-aged White college students demonstrate and or describe their attitudes and beliefs about other racial groups?” Clusters 6 and 7 relate to Question 3, “How do traditional-ages White college students define and describe racism?” The themes are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4.

Developmental Analysis. As stated previously, this study is based on the assumption that understanding race, racial identity and racism is a developmental phenomenon. The literature suggests that cognitive, self-reflective and perspective taking skills have developmental characteristics. The theme clusters were examined to determine which of the skills were demonstrated most often to determine which developmental protocols would be used to in the analysis. I determined that the Self-Knowledge scale would be used to examine clusters (2) Recognition of differential treatment based on own racial identity, (3) Characteristics of being White, (4) General beliefs about other racial groups, (5) Identification of external influence, degree of internal agency, stereotypes and feelings. The Conceptualization of Racism scale would be used to examine clusters (1) Definitions of race, ethnicity and self-ascription by race and ethnicity, (6) Anecdotes of racial interactions involved in racism, and (7) Perspectives on racism because each cluster required conceptualization skills.

The students' optimal scores from both models were used as the basis through which to conduct the analysis because the goal of the study was to understand the breadth of responses that might exist across the developmental continuum. To obtain these scores, I returned to the original interview transcripts and conducted a developmental analysis of each transcript. I looked for quotes that reflected Self-Knowledge or conceptualizations of racism. These were coded with participants receiving scores reflective of their optimal skills level on each model. These scores were compared to the participants' responses on the written data collection protocols and the students were assigned their highest scores on each protocol (See Table 5.1). A discussion on the selection of highest scores is detailed in Chapter 5.

After reviewing the seven theme clusters it became apparent that these would not directly answer the three research question because there would not be one specific answer to any of the research questions. Rather, the developmental analysis provided answers to questions relevant to the ways in which the respective developmental models interacted with the theme clusters. Hence, through the developmental analysis I identified seven answerable questions that might substitute for my three original general research questions. These new seven questions are addressed in Chapter 5 and I returned to the original research questions in Chapter 6.

The seven questions are:

1. How do levels of ability to conceptualize race and ethnicity appear to affect the ways in which interviewees name their own racial and ethnic group memberships and define race and ethnicity?

2. How do Self-Knowledge skills appear to affect the ways in which participants were able to describe the ways that they were treated differently because of their racial identity?
3. How do Self-Knowledge skills appear to affect the ways in which participants were able to describe being White?
4. How do Self-Knowledge skills appear to affect the ways in which interviewees relied upon external influences and internal agency to guide their decisions and choices about recognizing and adhering to stereotypes?
5. How do Self-Knowledge skills appear to affect the ways in which participants were able to describe the ways that they were treated differently because of their racial identity?
6. How do the levels of ability to conceptualize racism appear to affect the ways in which interviewees define the relationships involved in their definitions or racism?
7. How do the levels of ability to conceptualize racism appear to affect the ways in which interviewees describe the worst racist actions and the best, most non-racist actions?

The seven theme clusters were analyzed to answer the questions above. Each cluster was examined separately and assessed on the developmental scales as identified above.

The analysis was conducted in a sequential fashion moving from least developed perspective to most complex. Examples from each student were presented to demonstrate the variability within any single position on a scale. A summary of changing thinking was provided at the end of each cluster analysis.



### Sequence of the Study

Data were gathered over a sixteen week semester. Analysis, which began during the data collection, was an on-going process. As noted above, this study had both quantitative and qualitative components. The following is the sequence of the activities involved in the study (see Table 3.1).

At the beginning of the semester, the study was introduced to two sections of the general education sociology class. At the time, students were asked to volunteer to participate in the study by completing any or all of the three written data collection instruments (the Personal Information sheet, both the pre-test and post-test of the CRT and the ERII). The release form, personal information sheet and pre-test of the CRT were distributed at this time. Students were asked to complete each and return them to the instructors at the next class session.

The ERII protocols were distributed and collected during weeks nine and ten. The forty White students ERII responses were transcribed. A random sample of thirty were coded for developmental position by an independent coder who identified thirteen students whose scores represented the broadest range of scores as participants for the interviews. Topics and themes from the ERII responses were identified over the next four weeks.

Table 3.1 Sequence of Data Collection and Data Analysis

| Data Collection |   | Data Analysis  |
|-----------------|---|--|
| Week 1 - 2      | Study introduced. Students asked to complete Release, Personal Information Sheet and CRT Pre-test |  |
| 3               | Release, Personal Information sheet, and CRT Pre-test collected                                   |  |
| 4 - 7           |   | Data based developed to maintain personal identifiers and demographic data, thematic data and test scores. Demographic data recorded                                 |
| 6-10            | Class observations  |  |
| 9 - 10          | ERII distributed and collected  |  |
| 10 - 12         |   | ERII transcribed. Began thematic analysis of ERII results and Personal Information sheet data  |
| 12 - 13         |   | Independent coder scored 30 ERII protocols and identified students for interviews. Thematic analysis of ERII data continued. Thematic data used to guide interviews. |
| 14-16           | Interview candidates identified and in-depth interviews conducted.                                |  |
| 15              | CRT Post-Test distributed and collected   |  |
| Summer          |   | CRT transcribed and sent to independent coder. Began thematic analysis of CRT. Process is ongoing  |
|                 |   | Interviews transcribed. Began thematic analysis of interviews. Process is ongoing.   |
|                 |   | Identified theme clusters  |
|                 |   | Coded ERII and CRT protocols for developmental positions and compared with independent coders for reliability.   |
|                 |   | Identified variables and conducted correlation analysis of forty person sample   |
|                 |   | Scored interview transcripts for highest developmental indicators of self-knowledge and conceptual skills.   |
| Fall            |   | Assessed developmental positions of responses to seven theme clusters  |

The post-test for the CRT were distributed and collected during the last week of classes, after which the pre-test and post-tests were transcribed. Topics and themes were identified for the interview process. The CRT responses were sent to an independent coder to be scored for developmental positions.

Ten in-depth interviews were conducted over the last two weeks of the semester. The interviews were transcribed and analyzed for content over the next eight weeks. Once the seven theme clusters were identified, I conducted the developmental analysis of written material. My analysis were compared with both independent coders and differences were resolved. This information was provided to the statistician to conduct the quantitative process.

Meanwhile, I scored the transcripts for highest developmental scores on the Self-Knowledge and Conceptualization of Racism scales. This information was used to identify the optimal scores for each participant which was used in the last part of the study, the developmental analysis of the seven theme clusters. Each cluster was analyzed separately and assessed on the scales as identified above. Each analysis was conducted in a sequential fashion, moving from examples from students with least developed scores positions to students with the most developed scores. Examples from each student were considered to better understand the variability within any single position on a scale. The results from this process are presented in the next two chapters. Chapter 4 includes the results of the quantitative analysis and the thematic analysis. The developmental analysis is presented in Chapter 5.

## CHAPTER 4

### RESULTS

#### Introduction

This study examines the ways in which White undergraduate college students describe White identity, describe and demonstrate attitudes and beliefs about other racial groups, and define racism. A review of the literature suggests that analysis of multiple developmental domains, including self-reflection, perspective taking, and cognitive development, is the best way to approach such a study (Bidell et al, 1993; Helms, 1990; Lee et al, 1994; Tatum, 1992). Ultimately, this work identifies and analyzes the interconnections among these three aspects of White identity. As presented in Chapter 2, these three aspects include: (1) a student's sense of self as White, (2) a student's attitudes and beliefs about other racial groups, and (3) a student's definition of racism. The aspects are derived from the historical analysis of relevant research and theory, specifically the ethnic and racial identity development models.

The data that I use to analyze these three aspects come from the following three protocols and in-depth interviews. The Personal Information sheet solicits demographic and thematic data for the quantitative analysis. The Conceptualization of Racism Test (CRT) assesses the participants' ability to define racism. The Experience Recall (ERII) measures the participants' ability to demonstrate self-knowledge. Interviews with a smaller sample of ten individuals were conducted to enhance the



written narratives on White identity. A correlation analysis was conducted to assess what relationships if any existed among twelve variables. Qualitative analysis of the data began with a content analysis in which all of the data was reviewed for themes related to the three aspects identified through the research questions, followed by a structural analysis in which the data was analyzed for developmental indicators.

This chapter is organized in three sections. The first section presents a description of the sample, the second section presents an analysis of the relationships among the data and the third section presents a summary of the following seven qualitative theme clusters: (1) Definitions of race, ethnicity and self-ascription by race and ethnicity, (2) Recognition of differential treatment based on own racial identity, (3) Characteristics of being White, (4) General beliefs about other racial groups, (5) Identification of external influence, degree of internal agency, stereotypes and feelings, (6) Anecdotes of racial interactions involved in racism, and (7) Perspectives on racism. A developmental analysis of the ways in which interviewees negotiated the seven theme clusters is presented in Chapter 5.

### Quantitative Analysis

One hundred and seventeen students from two sections of a general education sociology class initially volunteered to participate in the study. After sixteen students who did not identify as White were eliminated, the one hundred and one person sample was further narrowed to a sample of 40 students on the following criteria:

(1) students who were born and raised in the United States, (2) students who were traditional college age (18-25), and (3) students who completed all three written protocols. Table 4.1 summarizes the demographic data of the sample.

The majority of the students ( $n=28$ , 70%) were 18-19 years old. Eight students were 20-21 years old and four students were 22-25 years of age. There were twenty-seven females (67.5%) and thirteen males (32.5%). Most of the students ( $n=28$ , 70%) were freshmen, though there were six sophomores, four juniors, and two seniors. Students were asked to describe their high schools and it was indicated that all participants completed high school in the Pacific Northwest region of the United States. Thirty-eight (95%) students attended public schools of whom nineteen participants (47.5%) attended large (1000+ students), predominantly White high schools. Only nine students went to high schools with racially mixed populations.

The goal of the quantitative analysis was to see what relationships if any existed among the twelve variables described below. For this purpose a correlation analysis was used to assess the relationships that might exist, recognizing that the correlation would only identify relationships, not causes. As outlined in Chapter 3, the twelve variables for this study were derived from a combination of demographic data, developmental outcomes, as noted in the protocols and themes that emerged from open-ended questions on the Personal Information sheets and the ERII responses (see Table 4.2).

Table 4.1 - The Quantitative Sample

|     | Age | Class     | Gender | Definition of ethnicity | Definition of race | Type of high school |
|-----|-----|-----------|--------|-------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| 1.  | 22  | junior    | M      | racial terms            | racial terms       | 1000+/White         |
| 2.  | 21  | sophomore | F      | ethnic terms            | racial terms       | <-499/White         |
| 3.  | 18  | freshman  | F      | ethnic terms            | racial terms       | 1000+/White         |
| 4.  | 20  | sophomore | M      | racial terms            | human              | 500-999/White       |
| 5.  | 22  | freshman  | M      | ethnic terms            | racial terms       | 1000+/White         |
| 6.  | 21  | senior    | F      | --                      | racial terms       | 500-999/White       |
| 7.  | 18  | freshman  | F      | ethnic terms            | racial terms       | 1000+/White         |
| 8.  | 18  | freshman  | M      | --                      | racial terms       | <-499/White         |
| 9.  | 18  | freshman  | F      | --                      | racial terms       | 1000+/White         |
| 10. | 18  | freshman  | F      | ethnic terms            | racial terms       | private/White       |
| 11. | 18  | freshman  | F      | ethnic terms            | racial terms       | 1000+/White         |
| 12. | 19  | freshman  | F      | ethnic terms            | racial terms       | <-499/mixed         |
| 13. | 18  | freshman  | F      | ethnic terms            | racial terms       | 500-999/White       |
| 14. | 21  | senior    | F      | racial terms            | racial terms       | 1000+/White         |
| 15. | 18  | freshman  | F      | --                      | racial terms       | 1000+/White         |
| 16. | 18  | freshman  | F      | --                      | racial terms       | <-499/White         |
| 17. | 18  | freshman  | F      | racial terms            | racial terms       | 1000+/White         |
| 18. | 18  | freshman  | F      | ethnic terms            | racial terms       | 1000+/mixed         |
| 19. | 18  | freshman  | M      | racial terms            | racial terms       | 1000+/White         |
| 20. | 19  | sophomore | M      | --                      | racial terms       | private             |
| 21. | 19  | sophomore | F      | ethnic terms            | racial terms       | 500-999/White       |
| 22. | 18  | freshman  | F      | --                      | racial terms       | 1000+/mixed         |
| 23. | 19  | freshman  | F      | racial terms            | racial terms       | 1000+/White         |
| 24. | 18  | freshman  | F      | ethnic terms            | racial terms       | 500-999/White       |
| 25. | 18  | freshman  | F      | ethnic terms            | racial terms       | 1000+/White         |
| 26. | 18  | freshman  | F      | racial terms            | racial terms       | 1000+/White         |
| 27. | 20  | junior    | M      | ethnic terms            | racial terms       | 500-999/mixed       |
| 28. | 25  | junior    | F      | ethnic terms            | racial terms       | 1000+/White         |
| 29. | 20  | sophomore | F      | ethnic terms            | racial terms       | 1000+/White         |
| 30. | 20  | sophomore | M      | racial terms            | racial terms       | <-499/White         |
| 31. | 19  | freshman  | M      | ethnic terms            | racial terms       | 500-999/mixed       |
| 32. | 19  | freshman  | F      | ethnic terms            | racial terms       | 1000+/White         |
| 33. | 19  | freshman  | F      | --                      | racial terms       | 1000+/White         |
| 34. | 19  | freshman  | M      | --                      | racial terms       | <-499/mixed         |
| 35. | 23  | freshman  | M      | --                      | racial terms       | 500-999/White       |
| 36. | 19  | freshman  | F      | racial terms            | racial terms       | 1000+/mixed         |
| 37. | 21  | junior    | F      | --                      | racial terms       | 1000+/mixed         |
| 38. | 19  | freshman  | F      | racial terms            | racial terms       | 1000+/mixed         |
| 39. | 19  | freshman  | M      | racial terms            | racial terms       | 1000+/White         |
| 40. | 19  | freshman  | M      | ethnic terms            | racial terms       | 1000+/White         |



Independent variables included demographic information such as: age of participants, gender, class year, size and make-up of high school, ability to identify ethnic and racial group membership. The themes that emerged from the content analysis included: the ways in which participants recognized their racial identity, and participants' age when they first recognized their racial identity. The dependent variables were the participants' scores on the ERII and the average pre-test, average post-test and change scores on the CRT.

As described in the Chapter 3, the coding procedures for the CRT and the ERII required that the identities of the participants be kept separate from the protocols during the coding processes. A content analysis was conducted on the data from the written instruments and the interview material. This was followed by a developmental analysis of the data.

Thirty of forty ERII protocols were scored for developmental positions by an independent coder and myself, with a 90% rate of agreement. In order to have consistency, the coding procedures were reviewed to resolve disagreement and I was then responsible for the developmental analysis of the remaining ERIIs and the interview material. A similar process was followed for the CRT protocols. An independent coder and I both scored all of the CRTs' for developmental levels with an 88% rate of agreement. We reached agreement on the final coding.



Table 4.2 - Variables for Analysis

| Variable   | N = |
|------------|-----|
|            | 40  |
| <u>Age</u> |     |
| 18         | 16  |
| 19         | 12  |
| 20         | 4   |
| 21         | 4   |
| 22+        | 4   |

|               |    |
|---------------|----|
| <u>Gender</u> |    |
| male          | 13 |
| female        | 27 |

|                   |    |
|-------------------|----|
| <u>Class Year</u> |    |
| freshman          | 28 |
| sophomore         | 6  |
| junior            | 4  |
| senior            | 2  |

|                               |    |
|-------------------------------|----|
| <u>Type of High School</u>    |    |
| 1000 + / predominantly White  | 19 |
| 1000 + / racially mixed       | 5  |
| 500-999 / predominantly White | 6  |
| 500-999 / racially mixed      | 2  |
| < - 499 / predominantly White | 4  |
| < - 499 / racially mixed      | 2  |
| private / White               | 2  |

|                           |    |
|---------------------------|----|
| <u>Definition of Race</u> |    |
| racial group terms        | 38 |
| ethnic group terms        | 1  |
| human                     | 1  |
| blank                     | -- |

|                                |    |
|--------------------------------|----|
| <u>Definition of Ethnicity</u> |    |
| ethnic group terms             | 18 |
| racial group terms             | 11 |
| blank                          | 11 |

| Variable                                       | N = |
|--|-----|
|  | 40  |
| <u>Ways of Recognizing Own Racial Identity</u> |     |
| Being a numerical minority                     | 14  |
| Negative interactions                          | 11  |
| Disadvantaged by system                        | 6   |
| White people doing bad things                  | 8   |
| Recognize White privilege                      | 1   |

|   |    |
|---|----|
| <u>Age at Time of First Recognition</u> |    |
| < - 12                                  | 9  |
| 13 - 15                                 | 0  |
| 16 - 18                                 | 26 |
| 19 - <                                  | 4  |
| no age listed                           | 1  |

|                                 |    |
|---------------------------------|----|
| <u>Experience Recall Scores</u> |    |
| Situational-1                   | 17 |
| Situational-2                   | 18 |
| Pattern-1                       | 2  |
| no code                         | 3  |

|                                      |    |
|--------------------------------------|----|
| <u>CRT - Average Pre-Test Scores</u> |    |
| 1.0                                  | 24 |
| 1.5                                  | 11 |
| 2.0                                  | 5  |

|                                      |    |
|--------------------------------------|----|
| <u>CRT - Average Post-Test Score</u> |    |
| 1.0                                  | 26 |
| 1.5                                  | 8  |
| 2.0                                  | 4  |
| 2.5                                  | 2  |

|                           |    |
|---------------------------|----|
| <u>CRT - Change Score</u> |    |
| <1.0>                     | 2  |
| <0.5>                     | 7  |
| 0.0                       | 23 |
| 0.5                       | 4  |
| 1.0                       | 4  |

I found no correlation among any of the independent and dependent variables. Additionally, I found no correlation among the ERII results and the average pre-test, average post-test or average change scores on the CRT. In other words, age, gender, class year, type of high school, definition of race, definition of ethnicity, ways of recognizing one's own racial identity, and age when a person first recognized his or her racial identity did not have a statistically significant relationship with the scoring results of either of the two written protocols. Furthermore, I found no statistically significant relationship between results of the two tests. Nonetheless, while there were no statistically significant relationships among the variables, several patterns or trends emerge in the data. In the next two sections, the patterns related to the CRT and the ERII will be examined.

### Patterns for the Conceptualization of Racism

The Constructive-Developmental Conceptualization of Racism identifies five Steps through which students progress as their definitions of racism become more complex and inclusive. The CRT test assesses students' levels on this model by asking them to define the nature (Part A) and causes (Part B) of racism in a pre-test, post-test format. The model and protocol are discussed in greater detail in Chapters 2 and 3.

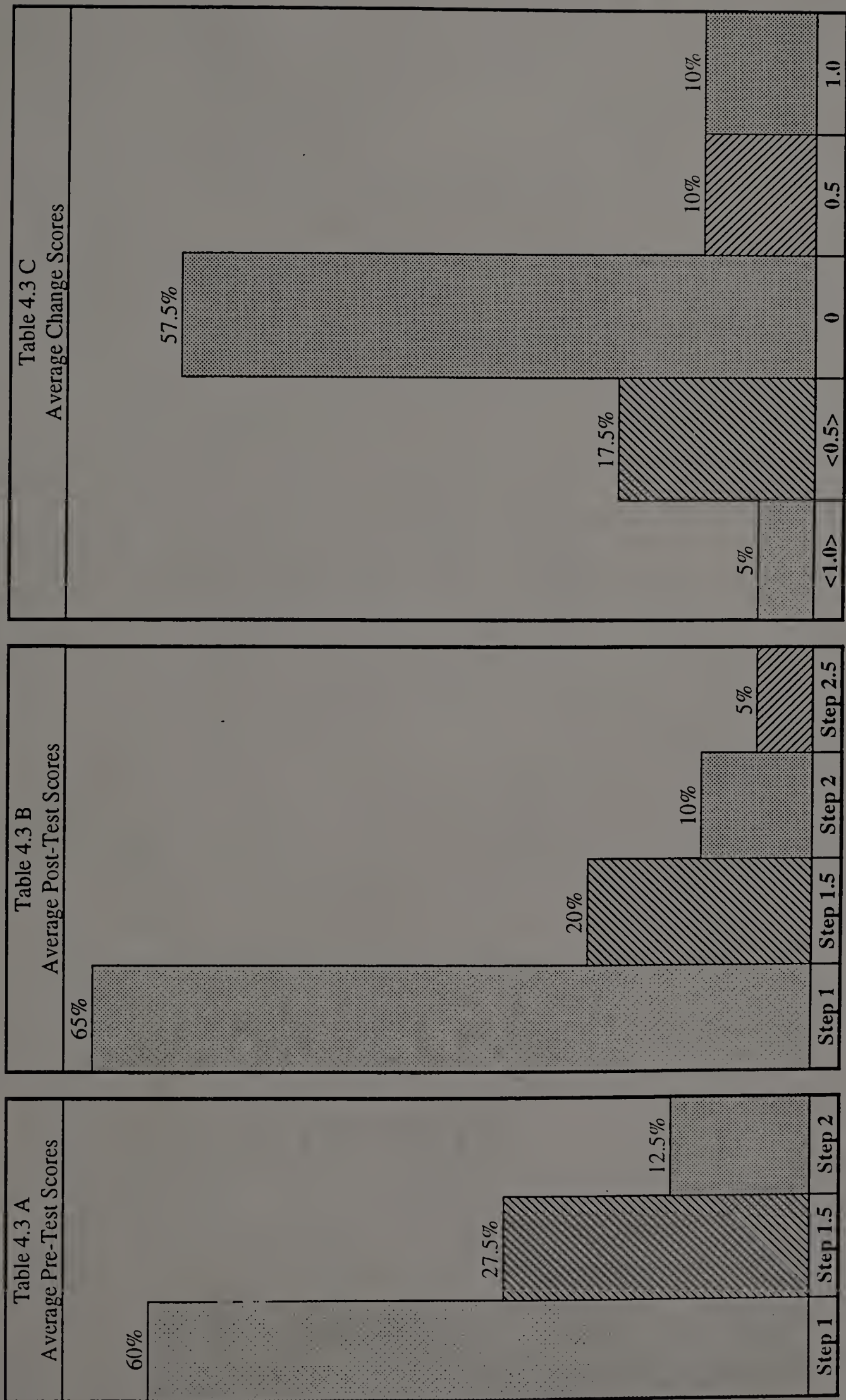
A skewed distribution of pre-test and post-test scores presented one such pattern in the CRT data. Both distributions skewed towards the Step-1 position, which represented Dualistic scores (See Tables 4.3 A & B). Most of the average pre-

test scores were coded at Step-1 (n=24, 60%). Eleven students (27%) had an average pre-test score of Step-1.5 and five (13%) had an average pre-test score of Step-2.0. The distribution of pre-test scores for Part A, the nature of racism and Part B, the cause of racism were similar. This suggests that the White students in this sample did not enter the class with a complex understanding of racism.

The distribution of average post-test scores were similarly skewed in that most of the students (n=26, 65%) remained coded at Step-1. Eight students (20%) were coded at Step-1.5, four students (10%) were coded at Step-2 and two students (5%) were coded at Step-2.5. These twenty-three students (57.5%) showed stability in their scores. Nine students (22.5%) showed negative changes. Eight students (20%) showed positive change (See Table 4.3 C). This suggested that the majority of the students maintained their conceptualization skills over the semester. The Change scores (See Table 4.3 C) were examined further by separately analyzing the pre-test and post-test results from Part A, the nature of racism and Part B, the causes of racism. The majority of students in Part A (n=29, 72.5%) and in Part B (n=25, 62.5%) remained stable in their responses. The mean change for Part A was +.100, with eight students demonstrating a full-step improvement showing some increased complexity in their ability to conceptualize the nature of racism. However, the mean change for Part B was <-.075>, with ten students demonstrating a full step or more movement backwards, which illustrates some decrease in the complexity of their understanding of the cause of racism.



Table 4.3 - Patterns in Conceptualization of Racism Responses





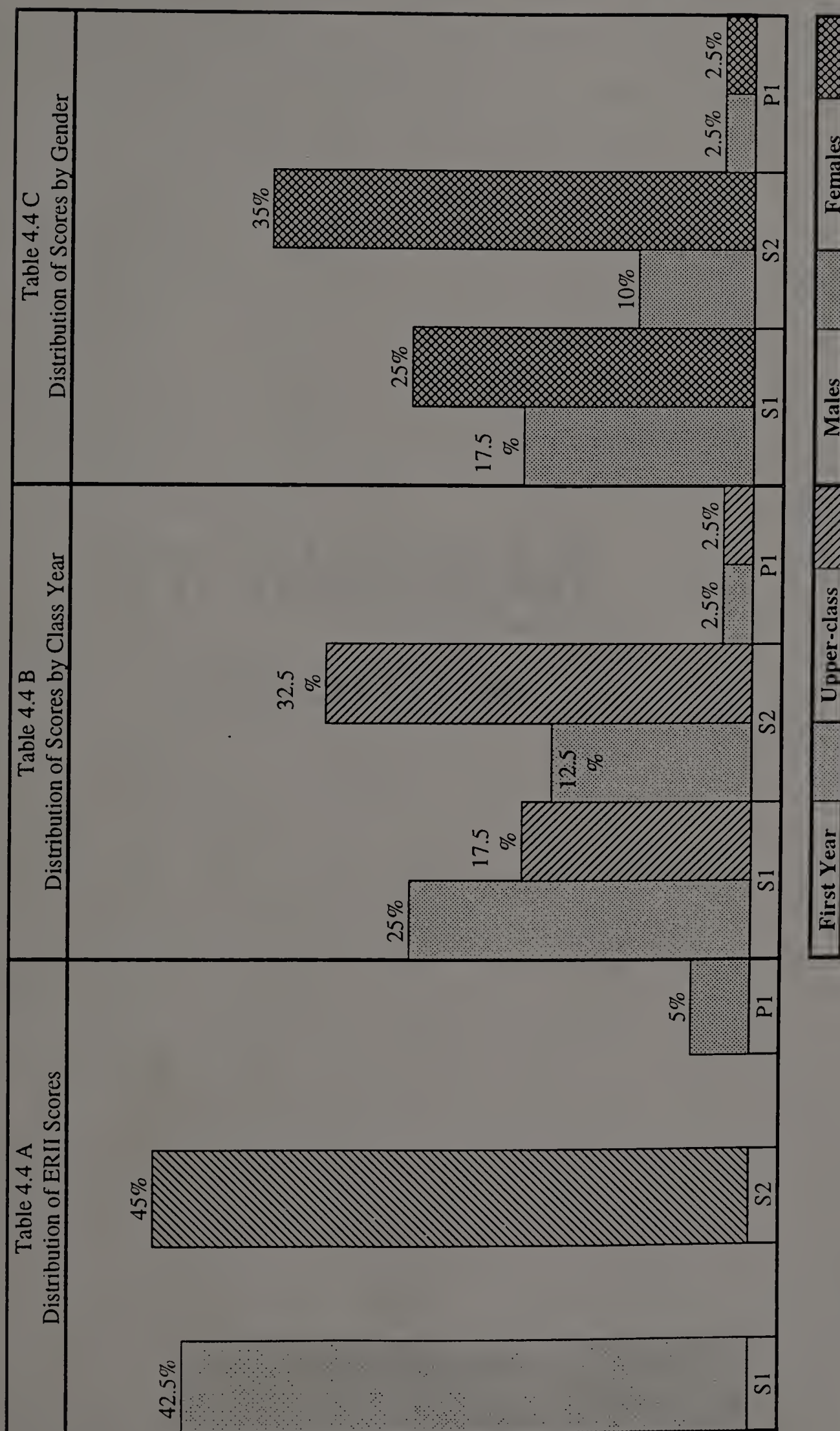
The results suggest a further pattern, where in the majority of participants exhibited stability and a few demonstrated change in both the positive and negative directions. The stability demonstrated that many students have consolidated their current conceptualization of racism. The majority of the positive directional change took place for those students whose pre-test scores originated at Step-1 and the majority of negative directional change took place for many students whose pre-test scores were Step-3 and above for the nature or cause of racism. The change scores raised some intriguing questions to be pursued in Chapter 6.

### Patterns for Self-Knowledge

The Self-Knowledge model describes the ways in which students name, predict and manage internal experiences on a developmental scale which includes for stages: Elemental, Situational, Patterns and Transformational. The Situational and Pattern stages each have two -sub-stages. The model is assessed through the Experience Recall. The model and the protocol are discussed in greater detail in Chapters 2 and 3.

The first pattern in the ERII data is the narrow distribution of scores (See Table 4.4 A). The majority of the sample ( $n=35$ , 87.5%) were coded at stages Situational-1 and Situational-2. Two participants were coded at Pattern-1. The remaining three were uncodable. The distribution of scores in this manner does not

Table 4.4 - Patterns in Self-Knowledge Responses



come as a surprise, but rather validated the assumption that college students are in early stages of developing their Self-Knowledge skills.

Examining the distribution of scores in more depth provided additional information. While class year was not a significant indicator of the students' ability to self-reflect, freshmen were coded approximately 1/3 of a stage lower than upper-class students. Notably, in this sample there were three older (20+) freshman, yet when age was examined, there was little variation in the ERII results. Thus, the second pattern demonstrated some indication that within this sample, experience in school rather than age contributed toward increased Self-Knowledge skills (See Table 4.4 B).

The third pattern in the ERII scores is apparent in the distribution of male and female scores (See Table 4.4 C). The majority of the men (n=7, 53.8%) were coded at Situational-1. Four men were coded at Situational-2 and one at Pattern-1. The majority of the women (n=14, 51.9%) were coded at Situational-2. Ten were coded at Situational-1 and one at Pattern-1. While this was not a significant difference, there is some indication that women in this sample had slightly more complex Self-Knowledge skills than the men.

### Qualitative Themes

As noted above, I conducted a thematic analysis on the data I derived from the two written protocols and the interview transcripts in order to identify themes in the data. These themes were grouped together into seven clusters which are as follows:

(1) Definitions of race, ethnicity and self-ascription by race and ethnicity, (2)



Recognition of differential treatment based on own racial identity, (3) Characteristics of being White, (4) General beliefs about racial others, (5) Identification of external influence, degree of internal agency, stereotypes and feelings, (6) Anecdotes of racial interactions involved in racism, and (7) Perspectives on racism.

Most of the data presented in this chapter and the next comes from the interview participants in order to best illustrate the themes. Where appropriate, the participants are identified by pseudonym to manage anonymity for the subject with clarity for the reader. It should be noted that non-identified quotes come from the open-ended questions on the written instruments that depict critical incidents. Where extended excerpts from the interviews are used, "I:" is used to represent the interviewer and "P:" is used to represent the participant.

In the discussion that follows, I organize these seven theme clusters in relationship to the three research questions. As noted in Chapter 3, theme clusters 1, 2, and 3 relate to Question 1, "How do traditional-aged White college students describe themselves in terms of the White identity?" Clusters 4 and 5 relate to Question 2, "How do traditional-aged White college students demonstrate and or describe their attitudes and beliefs about other racial groups?" Clusters 6 and 7 relate to Question 3, "How do traditional-ages White college students define and describe racism?"



## The Interview Participants

Before beginning the thematic analysis, I want to introduce the reader to the ten interview participants. This is provided to give the reader a context from which to interpret the participants' responses.

**Bobby** is a twenty year old sophomore. He grew up in a small farming town located roughly ten miles from the university. Growing up, he attended a local public school and had fifteen people in his high school graduating class. He has very limited experience with people from racial groups other than his own. His limited experience was characterized by friendship with the children of a Vietnamese family that moved into his town and sport participation against some Black men. Bobby thought a color-blind world was the only solution for the nation to overcome racism.

**Cathy** is eighteen year old freshman who grew up in a suburb of medium sized coastal city. Cathy's father is a first generation immigrant from Ireland and her ethnic culture was very important to her. In high school she dated a Japanese boy whom she reported her parents liked a lot. She explained that her father told jokes and teased the young man which never made Cathy uncomfortable because the young man teased her father too. Other than the Japanese boy, Cathy had very limited interactions with people from racial groups other than her own. Most of what she knew about people of color she learned from her family. She considered herself open-minded and "politically correct" in that she did not want to offend anyone.

**Danielle** is an eighteen year old, freshman from a small town which also was the home of a state university located about 10 miles from this university. Danielle grew up with a very strained relationship with her mother who was diagnosed with a chemical imbalance that created dramatic mood swings. Danielle also reported that she was very close with her father because he represented everything that was good to her. In high school, Danielle was part of a group of girls that dated the Black men from the local universities. This created a lot of controversy in her school. Danielle described that time in her life as "the crazy time." After seeing a psychiatrist for a year and a half, Danielle thought she was finally in control. She found the direction she needed to guide her life from her fundamentalist religion, the bible and by following her father's example.

**Holly** is a nineteen year old, freshman, from a middle sized city in eastern Washington. She grew up in a racially mixed, lower-working class part of the city. Holly's mom was married four times, twice to White men, once to a Mexican man and currently to a Black man. Holly has nine siblings and step-siblings. She has maintained relationships

with all of her siblings and all of her grandparents. Holly reports that she was always around people from other racial groups, with some of her closest friends from racial groups other than her own.

**Jackie** is a twenty-one year old senior, born and raised primarily in a small town in a neighboring state. During her junior year of high school, her father transferred and moved the entire family to a small city in south central Washington. Growing up, Jackie had limited experiences with people from other racial groups - interacting only with Native Americans on reservations and with more recently with Mexicans in her new town. Jackie grew up thinking of herself as "open-minded," yet, after the move, she realized that she and her family were prejudiced. In the future, she hoped to get a job in law enforcement, with parole services. She hoped to be able to treat all people the same without considering race.

**Larry** is an eighteen year old freshman who grew up in a predominantly White, upper middle-class suburb of a mid-sized city in coastal Washington. He moved to this community from southern California, just before he started ninth grade. In California, Larry had friends who were Black and Mexican-American. Once he moved the majority of his friends were White but in college he described his friends as more diverse again. He reported that he missed "the culture" that existed in California, but acknowledged that the move was good because he was glad that he didn't turn out like some of his California friends. He thought the environment in California was not conducive to success. Larry said that fighting racism was important to him because of the guidance he received through his born-again Christian religious faith. He explained that he was disappointed in his inability to improve racism from his current position as a student and discussed how he thought he would have made a greater difference in the racial situations around him by now. He hoped to obtain a career in which he could use his power to make positive changes in racism.

**Linda** is a twenty-five year old junior from a predominantly White upper-middle class suburb of a mid-sized city in western Washington. While attending college, she became engaged to a bi-racial (Korean and White) man with whom she moved to a large western Pennsylvanian city. Her experience there reinforced all the stereotypes (welfare, food stamps, violence, etc.) that she had learned about Blacks from her father. After ending her engagement, she moved back to Seattle where she met her soul mate, a biracial (Black and White) woman. As a result of this friendship, Linda said she was consciously reexamining her experiences and understanding about other racial groups. Currently she is dating a Black man. Her father does not approve of interracial dating and informed her that he would not attend the wedding if they got married.



**Mary** is an eighteen year old freshman who grew up in a White middle, upper-middle class suburb of a mid-sized city in western Washington. She described her family as pretty much the "utopian American family" because both of her parents still lived together with her brother and her. Mary had some experiences with people from racial groups other than her own. In school, she had a few Black friends, most of whom lived in her town and there had been members of an Asian gang bussed into her school for a year. She explained that she really enjoyed her experience at the university because she met so many new people from different cultures, which she defined as people who did things that were new to her, such as horse-back riding. Notably, she did not make friends with students from other racial groups. Mary's goal in life was to be color-blind in that she did not want to use color as a way in which to determine her interactions with others. She believed that the reason there were no people from other racial groups in her life was because they had not yet crossed paths.

**Ted** is a twenty-two year old freshman. He had returned to school after spending time in El Paso on a mission for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. In grade school, Ted reported that he was best friends with Tony, a Black boy. As they grew up, they drifted apart. Ted described how he felt deserted when Tony began to spend more time with the other Black boys. On the mission, Ted worked with many Chicanos and witnessed the unequal treatment that Chicanos received while in the barrios. Ted's extended family included many people from other racial groups. He is married to a Chicana woman from Honduras and they are expecting a baby. Ted and his wife are trying to be very active in the Chicano rights movement on campus.

**Terri** is an eighteen year old freshman. She reported that she had a hard time adjusting to the university because it was too big and the town was too small. She explained that she joined a sorority but de-pledged because there were too many people baby-sitting her and too much alcohol. She described how she planned to transfer to a smaller institution so that she could be with more people like her. She was friends with one Black boy in junior high which she characterized as being funny so everyone loved him. Terri said there were people from racial groups other than her own in her high school and in college, but she was not friends with any of them because they [Black people] segregated themselves. She believed "those people" brought on the trouble they got because of the way they dressed and acted. She really disliked it when members of other racial groups blamed her and other White people for their problems.

### Theme Clusters for Question 1

Some general trends were apparent in how respondents described their White identities. Specifically, three clusters emerged related to Question 1, "How do traditional-aged White college students describe themselves in terms of the White identity?". Each cluster illustrates the complexity of the participants' construction of their White identity. In Cluster 1 we hear the difficulty these students have both in differentiating between race and ethnicity and in creating a framework to compare race and ethnicity (see Chapter 5 for a discussion of the framework). This cluster is reflective of the way in which race and ethnicity are often confounded as terms and social categories.

Cluster 2 examines the way in which the students recognized their racial identity and different treatment. All of the participants described themselves as individuals. However, there were two distinct definitions of "individual." First, "individual" is most often used to refer to from an individualistic ideological perspective in which: (1) everyone is considered an individual and all individuals are considered equal, (2) differences among social identity groups are considered to be of equal social status and (3) "different treatment" is defined as discrimination which occurs in reciprocal actions between individuals, independent of their racial group membership. This is reflected in ideas such as the Golden Rule and the American Dream, whereby one could assume a universal standard exist and that everyone has equal access. The second definition of "individual" is harder to grasp because it is



conceptualized as the personal effects one experiences in an event that might include recognition of social group membership. From this perspective, "individual" can be experienced from a reference group perspective and "different treatment" is defined by both the ways in which White people are hurt and benefit from racism.

Cluster 3 illustrates how most White students tend to ignore their whiteness as a conscious racial identity. Those who have gained some recognition of their White identity either described White as a group membership that is equivalent in social status to other racial groups or they demonstrated some understanding of the dynamics of racism in relation to their White identity.

#### Cluster 1: Definitions of Race, Ethnicity and Self-ascription by Race and Ethnicity

When asked to self-identify racial group membership on the Personal Information sheet, most participants (n=38, 95%) used White or Caucasian as racial group descriptors. In contrast, when asked to self-identify ethnic group membership, only eighteen students (45%) were able to define themselves in terms of ethnicity as defined by family's origin, religion or geographic location, including American. Eleven participants used the same racial descriptors, and eleven left the field blank. This provides the first insight into the struggle White students face in understanding the potential distinctions between their own racial and ethnic identities. Simply stated, some White students do not know how to name their ethnic origins any more than they know how to name their racial group membership.

In the in-depth interviews, examining the interview participants' definitions of race and ethnicity provided further insight into the struggle students have with these terms. All of the participants defined race as those identity groups most often associated with skin color. They take their cues for "proper" racial terms from their immediate environments which tend to be racially organized. Most students' confusion between race and ethnicity, as terms, often reflected the way in which the terms, as categories, are confounded on the bureaucratic forms which they complete.

Pretty much those surveys we have to fill out that say, "Are you Hispanic, Caucasian, Black?" I go by them. That's how I usually think of it.

In the next example, Jackie made reference to the categories on forms. I pursued clarification with her and she shows some anxiety when asked to examine a possible relationship between racial and ethnic terms. This inquiry results in more than just a cognitive response. There is an emotional component reflected in her sensing something was wrong and being worried about offending others.

- I: Hispanic is one of the boxes you check off on an affirmative action form, and Black is a box and White. Do you describe yourself as White or Caucasian?
- P: White, well, what ever the box is. I'm not offended by either one
- I: Whatever the box is. Do you have an ethnicity?
- P: Well, I'm German and Irish pretty much.
- I: Is that the same as being Mexican to the Hispanics?
- P: I don't know, I really don't know. I don't know how they, themselves, how they term themselves, that p.c. thing.

Many interview participants described their emotional reactions in ways similar to Jackie's discomfort when asked to consider naming themselves and giving names to

members of other groups. Recognizing emotional responses is important for two reasons. Emotions can serve as developmental cue and as discussed in Chapter 2, emotions can also serve as catalyst or inhibitors for prejudice reduction behaviors.

Identifying the relationship between race and ethnicity proved to be even more complicated. The majority of students could not define both terms or were in the beginning process of identifying the relationships between the two terms. Concrete examples from interviews were used to elicit their understanding. In the following example, Bobby demonstrates the difficulty he has in conceptualizing the terms and naming himself.

- I: Tell me how you define race  
P: (pause) I guess the type of origin that you come from like Caucasian or Hispanic, ...just the type of group you belong to.  
I: Is race different from ethnicity?  
P: I think they are pretty much the same thing  
I: What is your ethnicity?  
P: Caucasian  
I: What's your race?  
P: Caucasian, White I guess.  
I: Do you have a background that's like Irish or something?  
P: Well, my mom's mother is full Italian and my dad's side is German.  
I: So what are those things?  
P: I guess that would be (pause) I don't know. I'm at loss for words.

A few students had very clear definitions of race and ethnicity and the relationship between the terms. Race was an umbrella term under which many different ethnic groups fell, with race most often related to skin color, and ethnicity



related to culture. Danielle talks about the influence that school had in the construction of her definition of race and her understanding of ethnicity:

- P: I paid very close attention in history. I saw how Native Americans were treated bad and how Blacks were treated bad and I cried...I was very mad at my own nationality and my own race for doing that. I could not justify how one man had the right to rule over another one. That is when it really hit me. That these people, because of the color of their skin, were treated differently...Ethnicity has a lot to do with your race and your culture because there is definitely very different cultures within a race.

Some students demonstrated more complex understandings of the terms and integrated concepts from class discussions. In the following example we hear Ted grapple with the meaning of race. Notably, Ted asserts that there is more than one way to define race and allows for multiplicity in understanding.

- I: When we talk about race, what are we talking about?  
P: Race is, it definitely has to do with the color of your skin. That's one way of defining it. There's more than one way I think. The color of your skin is, is how a lot of people are judged. I think it's a social construction because of the fact that it's a way of saying that I'm better than you...so in that way I think it's a way to control people.

As noted in the examples above, some of the difficulty these students experience in naming their White identity is in part associated with the way in which they confound race and ethnicity as words and in their confusion about their definitions. As previously mentioned, both cognitive abilities in terms of conceptualization skills and affective reactions to self-ascription played roles in the students' ability to articulate definitions of the terms, and to assign meaning to



individuals or groups. The greatest affective responses resulted when students were asked to self-ascribe group membership or to name group membership for members of other racial groups. Self-ascription in group terms is examined in greater detail in the next cluster.

#### Cluster 2: Recognition of Differential Treatment Based on Own Racial Identity

The students were asked to remember a significant time in which they recognized being treated differently based on their racial identity. As stated previously, each of the students initially defined themselves as individuals. However, there were two distinct definitions for the term. Consequently, the students also defined "treated different" based on the way in which they conceived of the word "individual." First, "different treatment" was described as negative discrimination (reverse-racism) from an individualistic point of view ideology in which all people are seen as individuals and all social group differences are perceived of as equal in social status. The second way of defining "different treatment" was one in which social inequity was acknowledged because "individual" was used to describe the way in which a person, as a racial group member, is personally affected by racism.

The majority of the participants (n=31, 77.5%) defined "different treatment" as reverse discrimination whereby, they demonstrated no recognition of the disparity between racial groups as a result of racism. Since they viewed all differences as equal, they were able to conclude that they also suffered from "reverse racism" because of

being White. Each described one or more of the following issues or concerns: (a) being a numerical minority in a situation (including situations where a perceived language barrier existed); (b) having a negative interaction with a person or persons of color; and (c) feeling disadvantaged by institutional systems (i.e. affirmative action).

Since most of my subjects were socialized in families, schools and communities that were predominantly White, experiences of being a numerical minority were new and often times uncomfortable. These students' general sense of discomfort in such situations was magnified when language differences made them feel excluded. In the following, Cathy describes a time in which she was on a date with her Japanese boyfriend and one of his Japanese friends.

I remember on one occasion the three of us went out and they would talk in their language. And I would be just like, "What did you say?" "Oh nothing." I was like, "What are you saying?" I was kinda frustrated because I was like, "Are you talking about me?" Cause they could have easily, cause I don't know nothing about the Japanese language.

In addition to feeling excluded, Cathy assumes the Japanese men are talking about her. This interpretation indicates her discomfort and appears to be due to a lack of control over the situation and to her limited interaction with people from other racial groups. This type of reaction is reflective of many of the White students experiences when they are first confronted with being a numerical minority.

A second assumption that many students made was to see an interaction involving people from two or more racial groups and assume it was racially motivated.

In the following example, Terri describes a critical incident in which she felt the Black students treated her differently because she is White:

Well they [Black students] all hung out together and I could understand that but they weren't, like if you tried to say hi, they were just, they wouldn't really say hi back. Or they'd be really disruptive at lunch cause they all sat together. And they threw gum in my hair and stuff. I was really mad, but I mean, a group of people, you don't really want to go up there, most of them were guys and stuff.

The example above indicates the way in which many students selectively connect a chain of situations together to develop and support their beliefs about racial groups other than their own. They are only able to take their own perspective and cannot take the perspective of others. Cathy developed stereotypes based upon her previous interactions with the black people, coupled with her perception that the students of color segregate themselves, and that they exhibit cultural and behavioral differences. All of these perceptions contribute to her vision that she was treated differently because of her race, rather than the boys were just behaving inappropriately, as it might have been interpreted had they also been White. In this she demonstrated limited perspective taking ability, in that she was only able to take her own perspective on the incident.

The third example was taken from the written responses and it provides an illustration of the individualistic ideology confounded with issues of class. The student

notes the premise of equality from which s/he constructs his/her interactions in the world:

The only discrimination I have felt is when I was looking for scholarships. I found I could not apply for more because of my ethnic background. This made me feel very inferior. It was important because I needed to find money for college. It made me realize that, to the government and donors of scholarships, not everyone is created equal. I know now that if I am to succeed in this world I must do the best I can despite the lack of opportunities that I am offered.

The student said s/he felt the perceived disparity of treatment made him/her feel inferior. S/he resolved this discrepancy through yet two other ideological references. Note, in the last sentence in which s/he describes an "F" mentality in which s/he, the individual, will work hard to overcome the disadvantage presented which also introduces the second characteristic, people of color receive special opportunities. S/he does not recognize the distinction between his or her class disadvantage and the students of color who have subordinate racial and class reference group orientations.

On the other hand, four participants defined "different" in terms of recognizing that they were generally treated more favorably than a person of color. They described incidents that involved (a) other White people demonstrating inappropriate behaviors towards or about people of color (i.e., telling jokes, and name calling, etc.) and/or (b) incidents in which a White person received or recognized unearned privileges.



As noted throughout, many of the participants grew up in predominantly White communities. These students often concluded that they were not prejudiced because members of other racial groups were not present to be prejudiced against. It appears that visible representation of the "racial other" is necessary to raise awareness of race as an issue. In the following, Jackie describes her surprise at the prejudice her father exhibits toward Mexicans in their new community.

I grew up in a pretty much White town, completely White, so I didn't have opinions one way or the other. And then I moved down here. And in [my new town], there's a lot of Mexicans and that's when I realized my dad is really prejudiced because of the boarder patrol and stuff. He's very, very, well at least against Mexicans. It never came up, I mean we didn't even know. I mean I didn't know he was like so prejudiced until we moved out here. And it just came out like that. And there was no way he was going to have us living in [the town] because that was a bad city. And he didn't want me going to [the] high school.

Jackie was visibly disconcerted while recounting this story. She implied that her father had always treated people as individuals until they were confronted with Mexicans, as a group, in their new town. Many students concurred with Jackie in that visible face-to-face confrontations with members of other racial groups was needed to precipitate prejudice. When the participants did identify prejudice occurring without the presence of people of color, it was often something they witnessed other Whites do.

Students defined prejudice in terms of traits acquired from racist people as if it were a contagious disease. Conceptually, it was as if there were two kinds of White people: racist (those who were prejudiced) and individuals who have to contend with the racists. In the following, Holly is trying to describe a paradox of interacting with

racist White people. She says that because of her job status, she has to contend with her boss who she perceives of as racist. However, she also describes how she benefits as a white person because she gets the job.

Applying for the job, in the way that she was racist, if there was anybody else who wasn't White applying for the job, I'm sure they wouldn't have got it. I don't know who applied for the job, probably like 4 or 5 people did, and so I think, day to day, people, cause White is the majority of people. What is it 88% White people, Caucasian? I say a lot of them [supervisors] are racists or have racist views or prejudices and stuff and so the statistics would show that I would [benefit] for getting jobs,

The illustrations above exemplify the ways in which students describe being treated differently based on their racial identity. The majority of students described themselves as individuals with whom other individuals interacted. Clarifying the meaning these students gave to "individual" was critical in understanding their definitions of "different treatment." Individual was conceived of in two ways, an ideological perspective and as reflective of personal experience. The over arching theme of individuality is further examined in the next cluster of themes.

### Cluster 3: Characteristics of Being White

As stated above, most students identified themselves as individuals. They thought of racial difference only when the representative of other racial groups were present. Concurrently with the ERII data, racial identity appears to be something associated with other groups. All participants who completed the ERII used racial or

ethnic descriptors to describe those people who were from racial groups other than their own. However, very few participants used racial descriptors to describe themselves or other people in their daily lives (parents, grandparents, teachers, other authority figures) all of whom were presumably White. It appears that unless it is mentioned, we are to assume that a person is White. This is another example of the way in which one's environment contributes toward one's ability to name self and an example of White privilege. For example, the media uses racial and ethnic descriptors to describe people who might not be expected to hold certain positions (i.e., the Black doctor). Hence, being White as recognized through the Americanization process, allows one to continue to believe in one's individuality because it is not necessary to recognize the racial group to which Whites belong.

When characteristics of being White was examined further during the interviews, it came as little surprise that most of the students had an immediate response that reflected a lack of awareness of their White identity. They shared one or both of the following themes: (a) acknowledge that they rarely have to think about their race, and (b) consider themselves individuals, rather than members of a group. When given time to reflect, they were able to construct sound reasoning about why they did not have to think about being White.

P: I don't really think about it. It's not, I've never really thought about race because, I think it's cause my background of a predominately White neighborhood. I never really thought about it. I think I still don't really think about it.

I: Why don't White people have to think about it?

P: (pause) I can't answer, I don't know



I: Think for a second

P: I think because we don't face diversity. We don't face diversity at all so we don't think about our own race.

Above, Mary says that she does not think about being White very often which is illustrative the ways in which White identity is understood, in part through not having to acknowledge race as part of identity. Below is a second example of the ways in which individuality plays out. Danielle has no doubt that all racial differences have equal status and that people use racial identity as a cop-out or an excuse for their status in life.

I have no control over what my ancestors did. I'm not happy with what they did, but everyone in history in the world has been racist to some race or has tried to take over some country or has treated other humans in a wrong manner. So everyone is guilty of it in history. And I mean that's wrong. I have no control over my ancestors and people who come from Black Panthers or whoever, and have been racist towards White people have no control over that. It's you. I think people try too much to say, to talk about outside influences and things like that. It's you, who you are personally, your personality. And I think people like to say, use that [race] as an excuse.

Danielle's ideas illustrates another characteristic of the individualistic ideology, in that as an individual, one can only be responsible for one's behavior and should not be accountable for the actions of other in the past or present. As noted earlier, naming self as an individual is a privilege which affords Whites the ability to deny the cumulative affects of their benefits across history.



As the conversations about whiteness continued in my interviews, three additional themes emerged. Some participants described (a) ways in which White people are hurt by racism, (b) ways that White people benefit from racism and (c) the role of guilt or shame. Larry explained some of the ways in which White people get hurt by racism.

I: Do White people get hurt by racism?

P: (pause) Yes, perhaps, in that maybe while I'm sitting here talking about how it's [society] categorized as the White government and the White everything. That implies that all White people feel that there is not a need for change. Perhaps other people look at that and can take out their anger on White people because they see it as a White system. Therefore, White people are responsible and perhaps group all of them into the White main-stream government and take out their aggression or feeling on someone who doesn't agree with the system they're in.

Above, Larry described one of the ways in which he believes White people are hurt by racism. Below he contrasts this by examining the way in which White people benefit.

Through his comparison, he is left feeling sad and ashamed of his White identity.

I: Is being White the norm?

P: In today's society I think it is. I think that the way that people view the schools, the way people view education and policies that are made, That Whites, White schools, White everything is looked to as the standard and the norm.

I: How does all that make you feel?

P: It makes me feel kind sad to be a part of the White mainstream. I think that even that is stereotyped perhaps. But it's a White world, a White government, it's White everything. So it makes me feel a little ashamed to be a part of it and not being able to do anything. I can do my part for myself and perhaps influence some others but for right now, I can't change any of that. And I see everyday decisions being made that are in the best interest of White, middle-class people.

Larry identified shame, an emotional response often associated with learning about racism, as his reaction above. Shame is usually triggered when one has failed to live up to one's ideals. Guilt is a similar feeling often associated with learning more about racism. Below, Ted talks about the way in which he feels like others are trying to guilt him into being responsible for which he does not want to accept.

- I: Why would you feel guilty? Or why did you say that?
- P: Well, because I sense a feeling like in some of the classes, this Chicano Studies class. Some of the feelings in there [are] like if you're White, your ancestors were a part of this discrimination, this persecution of the Mexican people. The breaking of the treaty of Guadeloupe Hidalgo and all that kind of stuff. There's a feeling there where I think, it's almost as if they are trying to teach you to be guilty or feel guilty for your ancestry or what ever.
- I: Do they talk about privilege or benefit's?
- P: Yeah as far as who has the privilege and power and benefit's in society. yeah they talk about it but not a whole lot
- I: Do you buy it?
- P: Definitely, there's definitely an unspoken rule I think in society where certain people have privilege and power.
- I: Do you have it as a White man?
- P: I think so. If someone asked me "do you want to change your race to somebody else?" It'd be harder. I'd think about it is what I'm trying to say because I know that as a White male you do have some privilege and some benefit's in society because of the fact, I'm not explaining it.

The White guilt identified above may be a similar feelings that Danielle was trying to avoid earlier when she was angry that she was asked to be responsible for her ancestors' history. Many students talked about not wanting to experience feeling shame and guilt.

## Theme Clusters for Question 2

Attitudes and beliefs about people from other racial groups were reflected in the students' recognition of and adherence to stereotypes about the groups. Prior to discussing the clusters, let me describe a general trend of the students' discussions. "Other" as a racial category most often referred to Black. This was true even when the White students had no personal experiences with black individuals, they still used Black and White examples in the majority of their hypothetical situations. The significance of this trend for anti-racism work will not be examined within the scope of this paper, but should be considered as a topic for future research.

Two theme clusters emerged directly related to the question, "How do traditional-aged White college students demonstrate and describe their attitudes and beliefs about members of other racial groups?" In this cluster we gain insight into some of the students' general understandings of people of color. While the students' basic understandings about stereotypes across racial groups are explored in Cluster 4, in Cluster 5 the students' ability to manage stereotypes are examined through their descriptions of the amount of attention they give to reliance on external influences and internal agency. External influence is defined as the concern one places, or the reliance one has, on others (as distinct from internal agency which is reflected by an internally derived set of standards.) Particular attention is given to the emotional responses participants had in conjunction with the use of stereotypes.



#### Cluster 4: General Beliefs About Other Racial Groups

Initially, participants' attitudes and beliefs about other racial groups were assessed from their descriptions in the ERII. Three themes emerged: (a) people of color have an unfair advantage over Whites, (b) I can understand how people of color feel because I've seen or experienced discrimination, and (c) stereotypes are limiting.

The following are examples from students who feel that people of color have unfair advantages. These are very similar to the examples provided in Cluster 2 where students described the ways in which they felt disadvantaged as White people.

Students perceived of themselves as disadvantaged because, in these cases, they believe the people of color are receiving "special" benefits. The myth of scarce resources which fuels much of the dialogue about affirmative action on a national level is played out in the following examples. In the example below the student describes his/her community as 80% Hispanic. Bilingual skills were necessary for most jobs in the local community.

My community is 80% Hispanic. Statistically, the Hispanics are the majority and the Caucasians are the minority, but that is not the case in equality. The employers would always post signs saying WOMEN AND MINORITIES ENCOURAGED TO APPLY. It was next to impossible to get a job if you were not bilingual. The experience was important because I was not given the same opportunities as the Hispanics....I have learned to appreciate what I have because I work for it. It was not given to me. I have taken 3 - 4 years of Spanish and I am fairly fluent in the language and I still can't get hired. Maybe if my last name was Martinez instead of Martindale.

Note the resentment this student demonstrates toward the situation and inherently towards the Hispanics. This student, who adheres to the individualistic ideology,



believed the Hispanics were given more opportunities than s/he had and s/he should be proud because s/he earned his/her job rather than receive it because of racial identity.

Feeling disadvantaged on the basis of perceived unequal treatment like reverse racism was a very common theme among these White students. Below we hear a student describe a situation in which a Black athlete has to do more drills and run extra sprints. While this could be perceived of as an example of the coach treating the Black boy unfairly by making him work harder, this student perceives of the extra attention as advantageous for the Black player and in turn feels that he was neglected because he was not Black.

I was on a soccer team when I was about 8 or 9. That team was all White boys and just one Black boy. I started noticing that the coach treated him differently. Looking back it wasn't overt, but he always ended up doing more laps, running more drills, etc. I didn't understand why he was more encouraged to do more on our team and eventually I figured it was some how related to his being Black.

As stated previously, many White students have limited experiences with racism. However, when faced with situations in which they felt they were discriminated against, some of the students later reflected on the situation as a way in which to imagine the circumstance in which people of color lived and expressed empathy for them. In the following situations, the students described their reactions to situations in which they believe they were hurt by "reverse racism." They demonstrate shifting perspectives in their ability to draw comparisons and exhibit a sense of empathy for people of color.

There was a time when I was playing basketball at Greenlake in Seattle. I was put down because I was White. They (African Americans) thought I couldn't play because of the color of my skin. They were using racial slurs, names and other rude comments. All I wanted to do was play basketball. If that weren't enough, once I showed them I was good, they changed their slurs to cheers and asked me to play with them but it was too late. I was hurt from what they had done before the games had begun. Back then I was upset about the reverse racism and the idea of violence against me. I now feel it was good for me to go through it because I now know how minorities were and are feeling every time they have slurs thrown at them.

When I was around 12, two of my friends and I went to a little corner market owned by an Asian family. We were just looking for candy. The husband, owner kept walking up and down the aisles we were in, just watching us. His wife waited at the end of the aisle and kept peaking at us like we couldn't see her. After we found out they were watching us we started talking loudly about stealing. Once I left, the fact that they didn't trust us because we were White kids bothered me a lot. I never went back to that market. I had never been suspected of stealing before. This only happened because they didn't trust us because we were White. This experience now, just lets me know how minorities in America feel and are treated daily.

Participants described different ways in which using stereotypes was wrong or limited them. For some, it meant coming to terms with the fact that people who were important to them used stereotypes. In the next example, we return to Jackie, who previously described her experience of moving from an all-White town to a city. In the following selection, she is confronted by her own prejudice as well as that of her family and friends.

It was then that I realized how negative my dad was towards Mexicans. I noticed how people around me reacted negatively toward them. My friends acted superior to them and they were always scared to be around them. As a result, I had to learn to overcome stereotypes and prejudices around me. It was difficult because when all of my friends were negative towards Mexicans, I couldn't help myself but develop some negative feelings toward them myself. I

hate to admit it, but I still feel a twinge of "fear" when I encounter a group of Mexicans or Blacks. It is usually something that goes but it is still there initially.

Linda described a situation in which she was involved in an interracial relationship. She was concerned that her partner's friends were calling him a sell out. In previous relationships she believed the stereotypes that her boy friends were sell-outs who would ultimately leave her so she ended relationships because of her insecurity about ex-partners' abilities to maintain the relationship. She described her current understanding in the following manner.

I was especially uncomfortable one time when I met an older Black man in his 50s or 60s (an old friend of the family). I mainly wondered if he had the feeling that my boy friend should be dating his race, etc. But I should make it clear that when I did meet these people, they were always nice to me. I was not actually treated differently. My wondering come mostly from my insecurities and also from the media.

Finally, for some, recognizing the limit's of stereotypes was like opening a door to an early understanding of White privilege. This student described a time when she was in a car that was stopped by police. The police didn't question her or her brother but detained their friend, a "mean looking Samoan with a heart of gold." Later she reflected on the incident and said

At the time I didn't think too much of the incident. It did open my eyes and showed me exactly what the police were looking for when they pulled us over - a colored person. Now, I realize that the problem doesn't just occur and is then over with but now my brother's friend always has to watch his actions in case some cop is looking for a criminal. I also realized that being a White woman gets me "off-the-hook" in a number of incidents.



One of the things that emerged as a theme was the distinction between those students who use external influences and those students who rely upon internal agency. Below, we see the distinctions between the two.

Cluster 5: Identification of External Influences, Degree of Internal Agency, Stereotypes, and Feelings

Students relied on two different motivational forces, external influence and internal agency, to influence or guide their attitudes, beliefs and behaviors. Students who relied on external influence, such as perceived societal norms, parents, peers, media or presumed attitudes and beliefs about another group, were more likely to consciously and unconsciously adhere to and defend the basic stereotypes that existed about certain racial groups. Students who relied on internal stimuli, such as personal expectations of themselves, described in their interviews an individuating process through which they consciously tried not to rely on stereotypes.

The majority of my interview subjects, however appeared to rely primarily on external influences which supported their adherence to general stereotypes and were used to rationalize their own behaviors. In the following situation, the student said he thought racist thoughts because the Blacks were racist to him.

My only experience where I was treated differently because I was White was when I went to our high school basketball game against Cleveland. Cleveland is a predominantly Black and our high school is predominantly White. During the game we kept getting racial sneers and slurs like Whitey and cracker. I felt like leaving but I stayed for the majority of the game. My friends and I were scared and pissed off about the situation but we decided to play it cool and ignore the situation. It taught me that Blacks are as racist or even more racist



than Whites are to them...during it I kept thinking racist thoughts because they were displaying racism to me.

The example above draws from the assertion identified in the previous cluster in that the student saw himself as an individual and that all differences are equal. His experience in recognizing racial identity required the other group to be present. Finally, he blames the Blacks, as external influences, for his behaviors and reliance on racial stereotypes.

Previously, this young man described a time when he felt discriminated against by his soccer coach because he wasn't Black. In the following passage he describes his reactions. He describes his reliance on external influences when he says he has to feel this way because it is the only way he can feel. He concludes by stating that he has no agency over his feelings.

I was young and didn't know what I was feeling but I guess anger and distress over these situations. It is how I usually feel. I can't help it, it's the way it is. I feel dissatisfied over that I have to feel angry that someone is acting in such a way as to make me feel this way. I try to remain calm and be rational in the face of discrimination. Anger management, is a big key, but when it comes down to it you feel how you feel. I don't think I'll ever be able to help feeling angry and distressed when I see or hear about people being treated unfairly. It's my nature, I've got live with it.

Terri described a situation in which some Black boys who threw gum into her hair. In the selection below she describes her reactions to the situation. Her responses are based on her beliefs about the Black boys whom she called gangsters because of

their appearance and behavior. She did not do anything because she was afraid of the gangsters but she did not want them to know that she was bothered.

I was sitting at my lunch table in high school and a group of African Americans were being loud so I looked over and they threw gum into my hair. I was ticked off and upset but I didn't want them to think I was pissed so I didn't do anything. My friends couldn't believe what happened and they started to give dirty glares. It made me realize that not only Whites are racists.

In each of the responses above it is also important to note the emotional reactions the students described. Students who relied on external influence often reflect global feelings associated with agitation (pissed-off, it bothers me, or feeling threats of violence, etc.). These global feelings were not grounded in an internal process. In general, these feelings were most often triggered by a person of color who matched a negative stereotype or a White person who appeared to challenge the "rules" or status quo. By way of contrast, in the next few examples, students who relied on internal agency describe times when they used the feelings they experienced to help them develop a set of standards for themselves. In the following example we hear from a woman who was treated differently because she is White. She described what she learned from the situation that she is now applying in her life.

I felt really uncomfortable, almost stupid and like I didn't belong. There weren't any specific conditions or events and I can't remember if anything led up to this. One of the consequences of this experience was that every time I treat someone different I remember how I was treated and how it affected me. I have learned what it is like to be treated different for no reason, and I wouldn't want anyone to feel how I felt. I know that I am a fair and equal person. I do not judge people on how they look. I try and be as open-minded as possible at all times.

Earlier, Jackie described recognizing that her family and friends were prejudiced against Mexicans. When she identified her own prejudice she described the following reactions.

I feel ashamed of myself. Inside I know it's stupid to be afraid but it's all the stereotypes that come to mind. I have become friends with a couple of Mexicans which has shown me that everyone is an individual. There are good and bad people in all races. You can't generalize.

While trying to define race, Jackie struggled to develop a definition with which she was comfortable. After a long pause, she decided that race is a physical quality and that sometimes she used physical characteristics and just made decisions without really knowing the person.

- P: Some of the people, we're automatically like "OK, just stay away." you just make a judgment. They may be perfectly nice people but you're... (laughs uncomfortably).
- I: Does it bother you to talk about making judgments?
- P: Kind of
- I: How come?
- P: Cause I know they say that everybody is prejudiced to an extent but you don't want to admit it. It's not part of you you'd be proud of (laughs) "I'm prejudiced." I don't really consider myself prejudiced but then, when I say stuff, I'm like...(laughs)...I think you can be more aware and then you can, I mean that's the only way you can change your attitudes is to be more aware, but you still don't want to know.
- I: Do you feel guilty?
- P: Sometimes, I guess that's probably why I don't really think about it.

Jackie described conflicting priorities as she manages both her cognitive and affective responses. On one hand she realizes that this is a process in which she has to



engage. On the other hand, she does not like the feelings she experiences when she is forced to recognize that she has not met her own personal standards.

Those students who displayed internal agency shared similar emotional responses when they were not able to meet their own standards. They reported feelings and reactions related to compunction (guilt, shame, and self-criticism) when they found themselves relying on stereotypes and prejudiced thoughts. As stated previously, guilt and shame in manageable doses can be motivational. Avoiding these feelings became the motivation for behavior changes.

### Theme Clusters for Question 3

Two theme clusters emerged directly related to the question, "How do traditional-aged White colleges students define racism?" Cluster 6 examines the students' perceptions of the interactions involved in racism. Cluster 7 illustrates the most racist and least racist or in positive terms, most non-racist actions the student could envision.

#### Cluster 6: Anecdotes of Racial Interactions Involved in Racism

Participants were asked to define the nature and cause of racism in the CRT. The majority of the students described racism in very simple terms, often dividing the world into two subsets: the racist and non-racist individuals who contend with the racists. Most students felt racists projected their attitudes and beliefs onto innocent



White individuals who were left with little choice but to become racist themselves. The students identified many different sources of racism including other individuals (parents, family, friends, etc.) and institutions (media, school, church, community, etc.). Furthermore, they named ignorance, fear, hatred, intolerance and feelings of superiority as both the causes and the results of this process.

While there was not a lot of variation in the students' descriptors of the causes of racism, there was variation in the way in which they described the nature of racism. The most obvious distinction among the students' definitions of racism was their understanding of the different types of interactions between and among people and groups. They explained that racism could occur (a) individual to individual, (b) between groups of people, (c) between majority and minority status groups, and (d) between Whites and people of color.

The following are examples from students who reflected their understanding of racism as individuals acting out beliefs towards other individuals. These beliefs included ideas that people of color are biologically inferior, or abnormal, and Whites are consciously and unconsciously superior or normal. In the first example the student describes perceived biological and cultural differences between individuals as reasons for racist behaviors.

Racism is the act of segregating yourself from someone because of their race. It may be either because people do not like people that are different, or it is most likely that people in a certain race do not have the same values as you do and are not as intelligent as you are.

The second example identifies the one-way interaction of racism as it is conceptualized in the individual to individual interactions. From this perspective, people are products of their environments and individuals with good intent become racists because the people and institutions around them are racist.

Racism is the denying physically or mentally of a person by another person based on ignorant or assumed knowledge. Racism is also something that it is difficult to change in peoples' minds. Racism is a product of environment. Coming from your parents' views about people, your community's views including school, or church, and your friends' views about people too, these influence your ideas about racism and only as you move to new environments will they perhaps change.

In the second set of examples, the students' definitions reflected recognition of individuals as members of groups. While there is some recognition of group membership for the "other," the actual discrimination or prejudice is enacted by an individual.

To me, racism is a bias towards a race other than your own - racism is expressed in any number of ways. Racism can be expressed through bias in the workplace, school, community etc. Any action or different treatment that is committed against another race, simply because of their race is racism. To me, at least, racism can be negative or positive treatment to any person or group of people simply because of their race. In either sense I feel that any sort of racism is wrong.

Racism is a form of prejudice which can be destructive and offensive to others. Racism involves negative feelings toward a group of individuals (or an individual) because of factors outside of their control (color of skin).

In each of the examples above, the students understood racism as an individual's thoughts and actions (prejudice and discrimination). More specifically,

racism is defined as one-way relationships between racist people and a person or group of people from another racial group. From this perspective, any person of any racial group can be racist towards others. This conceptualization of racism failed to recognize the complexities of the issue which include: concepts of social power, socialization, institutional and cultural levels of racism, etc. In contrast, the example below is of a student who recognizes the cumulative effect of racism and acknowledges power as a component. It is important to note the final sentence in which the student names the hopeless feeling due to the pervasiveness of racism

Racism is caused by so many factors. I believe that it started out long ago. People have different languages and different cultures. It has become the norm to view people who are different than we are as strange and therefore inferior to us. Once racism has been rooted in a society, the problem only escalates. The ones who are discriminated against lose opportunities to participate in society to the fullest. These ones cannot find good paying jobs, therefore cannot live in nice neighborhoods, therefore cannot send their children to decent schools and therefore their children have less of a chance of going on to college so as to find a well paying job. When people are discriminated against they lose power and an unbalanced sense of power is felt throughout the society. One group having the majority of power, the other having the minority. This cycle just keeps spiraling downward. Unfortunately none of us know where it may end.

In the next example, a similar vision of racism as a large social phenomena is presented. Interestingly, Holly appears to have more hope for an end to racism.

Racism is the treating of a person or group of people "different" because of their race. Racism may not need to be acted out, it could just be a belief someone has about particular groups (race) that stereotypes the majority and oppressed. I believe a main cause of racism is that it is learned from family, peers, etc. And once a belief is ingrained in one's mind it is very difficult to "unlearn". It can be rooted in ancestors and perpetuated generation to generation. I do believe the problem is fading as less and less is passed from



generation to generation. And with the growth of the anti-racism programs, I believe the problem will soon fade into non-existence.

In the three examples above, majority/minority group status, power and socialization are introduced. Each concept adds to the complexity of racism and helps deconstruct the myth that everyone has equal status and an equal ability to be racist which is an assumption of the individualistic ideology. The one critical factor that is missing from these examples is the explicit recognition that Whites are the dominant group in the United States. In the following examples, the students named Whites as the source of racism and acknowledge the inequity that exists for people of color as a result of racism.

I feel racism is the discrimination of different races of people. It is when a person of a certain race doesn't get, for example, a job because of their race. I believe that if you tell someone something enough, they will believe it. So we (Whites) stereotyped different races so much that they started to believe it & act on it. I feel that we (Whites) are to blame, in the long run, for all the racism and hurt that goes on today.

Racism is when one ethnic group has a negative attitude toward another ethnic group. The "superior" group makes the "inferior" group feel worthless and like they don't deserve anything, especially respect. Slavery distorted everyone's minds about minorities and different ethnic groups. It gave people the impression that Whites are superior to any minority.



## Cluster 7: Perspectives on Racism

During the interviews, participants constructed a continuum that described their understanding of racism. One end of the continuum was marked as the worst racist idea or action and at the other end was marked as the best, most non-racist idea or action (See Table 4.5 at end of section). The following quotes provided insights into the way in which these White students conceptualized racism. All the students described the worst end racist event as one that involved behaviors and attitudes that can be grouped into three categories: (1) behaviors grounded in hate, violence, (2) dominance by an individual or group, and (3) limitations imposed on another person or group. In the next two examples Terri and Holly discuss images of violence.

Some one getting shot or something, murdered because of their race. Even if they didn't do anything wrong, just walking down the street. I think that would be the worst.

Like the KKK, that's like to the total extreme for me. You see movies and stuff about back in the 60's. Even in 1963 Black people still could not vote and they had to take this literacy test that were impossible to pass and even if you did pass your name was printed in the paper and they'd cut you down and hang you or kill you and stuff. That is just totally the epitome...Why would somebody want to waste their time and go out of their way to burn a cross on somebody's yard or hang someone to kill someone, to beat them up? The Rodney King incident - I don't understand why you need four police officers doing that when someone's on the ground. Why did he have to be hit 53 times?

Ted and Linda described the worst end differently. He discussed the resentment that exist in some of the Latin American countries which perceive the United States as trying to force them to integrate into US culture.

- P: The most racist thing I can think of is making everyone be the same through social control, making use of the economy and class structure and society.
- I: Is that the same as taking on a White identity or at least White values?
- P: Yeah, definitely. As my wife would say, everybody in the United States is the envy of the entire world, at least in Latin America, but they really resent the fact that we stick our nose into their affairs all the time, all around the world. I think the worst scenario would be for there to be forced conformity. The way that happens through racial prejudice and just trying to control people through those mechanisms.

Linda described the worst end as series of accumulating factors that start with attitudes which parents teach which lead to a potential race war. She is most concerned about the covert attitudes and beliefs that one may act on the future.

The scariest thing for me is the internal because so many people keep it inside and don't act on it. I don't think it is necessarily the people who act on it that I'm really threatened by, its the people that internalize it for years and years and will fake it on the outside and will play sports with these people and have classes with them and teachers and then they are working towards a position of power and will use it later in quieter terms. I think a lot of the groups that are forming now and are really quiet and are waiting in the wings for some kind of a race war. They are waiting to get their revenge later but with quieter ways. That's the kind of stuff that scares me and I think its just I think a lot of it is getting worse. It is the attitude that starts when you're young and its getting worse.

Cathy and Mary described limiting someone based on racial identity. Cathy was particularly troubled because she recognized the insidious nature of racism in that it can occur without the victim's knowledge.

- P: I think sometimes the most racist behaviors doesn't even occur. Like when a person, say it was towards a Black person and that Black person doesn't even know. I have friend whose parents are really racist and if I was driving in their car and they'll say "look at that person" or "what are they doing in this neighborhood?" That's probably the worse part about racism because no laws or anything will ever be able to

prevent that. It's always going to be there if that person believes that and stuff. But I think another bad thing about racism is just really the prejudice, not allowing these people to do something even though it's their right, even though they've worked hard to get to this. If someone worked hard to be an engineer and they apply to a company and someone doesn't hire them because of their color then that is totally wrong. That would be the hardest to take.

Mary's example demonstrated the narrowest continuum developed. In general, most responses to the positive end of the continuum were varied, including images of tolerance, acceptance, appreciation of other racial groups and empowerment.

- P: (pause) I don't know how to explain this. Putting limitations on other races, just based on their race. I think that's the worst thing we can do. And the best thing we can do is just integrate them and the rest of us just accept everybody for who they are and not look at the skin colors or the backgrounds.
- I: Does integrate mean they take on traits that are like ours?
- P: No, outside of maybe like the work force, having the same opportunities in education.
- I: And on the worst side, to limit them based on their race...
- P: By not giving them a job or scholarship.

Tolerance implies that other racial groups are to be endured. There is a sense of defeat in which racism cannot be resolved and therefore, co-existence is the best we can do. Below, Jackie makes reference to this limited perspective.

- P: Not all of the races are going to get along cause it's just, You're going to have racism, no matter what. But I suppose if you can like co-exist without being hostile. It doesn't mean that you necessarily have to go out and be like buddy-buddy with everybody of different race, but there's no reason to go and beat them up or say derogatory things to them. So I suppose that's just it, as long as if you can just co-exist. That'd be relatively positive to me.



Acceptance implies that one has a choice to recognize difference or not. It is from this perspective that one would find references to being color-blind. Acceptance is defined as the ideal for many White people who see racism from an individual perspective. Bobby provides an example of Acceptance. In his statement he unconsciously holds Whites as the norm and implies that through the golden rule, there is a universal way in which to interact.

P: The best way we can act between races is to just throw all colors aside and treat them like normal people. Follow the golden rule and treat them the way you'd want people to treat you. That's how I would.

I: Do we want to be color blind?

P: If we want to be a better nation or world. It's the only way.

Admiration is a midway point on the positive side of the continuum. The inequalities of racism are acknowledged and the roles that Whites play in racism are examined. This knowledge is acquired through on-going positive interactions one has with people from other racial groups. Throughout the interview, Holly described her admiration of people from other racial groups. Below, Holly describes her general understanding of the best world. She uses an example from her life in which she acknowledge the hardship her friends face, and hopes someday to walk into a store with her Black friend, Sam, and have him be treated fairly.

P: The best non-racist thing I can think of would be to have people treated equally. I think it could really happen but it just must be down the road, a long ways away. Or like go into a store with an Asian, and a Hispanic, and a Chicano and a Black person and a White person and not always have the White person get helped first... Or if they have more money, cause if I walk in, they think that I have, but really on any given day Sam could have a lot more money than I could. For people not to assume, to break down the stereotypes. That would be the best



thing I guess. If we could just see that happen. See more people in power that are not White.

Empowerment lies at the far end of the positive side of the continuum because it describes a world in which diversity is celebrated. All people are considered indispensable for the characteristics they contribute. This is the antithetical of the color blind perspective presented earlier because racial and ethnic identity is celebrated and not ignored. Ted describes his vision of this world and identifies some of the realities blocking the way of this vision in the United States.

P: The ideal world is where people are pro-diversity. Because pro-diversity can be really beautiful. I don't think we need to have to be the same. I think that we can define beauty in different things. And try to be understanding of the different cultures different people and look for the beauty in it instead of wrong. The United States could be an ideal world because there's so many other racial groups that could really make this country a beautiful place. There seems to be a need to conform in order to really make it in this country. And that takes away from some of that and causes a lot of tension and conflict because changing your style of living is sometimes hard and sometimes that's what we're asking people to do to change their entire way of living.

Table 4.5 provides a visual representation of the attitudes the students presented about the worst and best racist actions.

Table 4.5 - Attitudes About Racism

| ----- Most Racist Attitudes -----   |      |           |            | ----- Least Racist Attitudes -----   |            |              |             |
|---|------|-----------|------------|--|------------|--------------|-------------|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• <u>Repulsion</u>: Difference is a biological defect. Anything is justified to change or eliminate them (e.g. prison, hospitalization, death)</li><li>• <u>Pity</u>: Whites are consciously and unconsciously superior. Whites are normal. Being White it preferred. Any possibility of becoming White (assimilation) should be reinforced and those who can't become White should be pitied.</li><li>• <u>Tolerance</u>: Whites believe that actions by other racial group members are just a phase. They are less mature. They should be treated with protectiveness and indulged. They should not be given positions of influence.</li><li>• <u>Acceptance</u>: There is still something different about them that Whites have a choice of recognizing or not. Characterized by statements like "You're not a Black to me." or "Why do they have to be so Mexican?" Ignores the social and legal realities of racism.</li></ul> |      |           |            | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• <u>Support</u>: Basic compliance. Work to protect the rights of other racial groups. Individual are still uncomfortable with people from different groups but recognize their social and legal responsibilities.</li><li>• <u>Admiration</u>: Acknowledges that being a person of color takes strength. White individuals are willing to examine themselves.</li><li>• <u>Appreciation</u>: Value diversity in all racial groups. White people are willing to fight against racism.</li><li>• <u>Empowerment</u>: Assume all people are indispensable and view all people with genuine affection and delight. Are advocates and allies for people from difference racial groups.</li></ul> |            |              |             |
| Repulsion   | Pity | Tolerance | Acceptance | Support  | Admiration | Appreciation | Empowerment |

Modified from: Riddle, D. (n.d.) "Riddle Homophobia Scale" in Social Diversity and Social Justice: Selected Readings. M. Adams et al (eds.). Kendal Hunt Publishing Company.

## Summary

The seven theme clusters presented in this Chapter were derived from the participants' written responses and the interviewees' transcripts. While the clusters are presented as seven distinct ideas, as was noted throughout, many overlap, often presenting two sides of a similar idea. In closing I will highlight some of the points made throughout the introduction of these clusters as they relate to the research questions.

Question 1: "How do traditional-aged White college students describe themselves in terms of their White identity?"

- Most students considered themselves individuals rather than members of a racial group.
- They relied on cues from their environment (forms, etc.) to assist them in naming themselves as White and naming others' racial categories.
- A member of a different racial group or a symbolic representation of that group needed to be present for race to be a salient issue.
- The students had difficulty defining race and ethnicity; often confounding the terms as words and categories.
- When asked to self-ascribe or to name others, they experienced cognitive and affective reactions. Part of the affective response for many was due to the fact that they relied on an individualistic ideology where everyone is an individual and all differences are deemed equal. Therefore, it was hard to define a person's group membership.
- The students constructed two sub-sets of Whites, the racists and those individuals who had to contend with the racists.



Question 2: "How do traditional-aged White college students demonstrate and/or described their attitudes and beliefs about other racial groups?"

- Most of the students rely on general stereotypes of people of color because many did not have adequate experiences with which to construct different ideas.
- Their reliance on stereotypes was often dependent on their associate with the individualistic ideology.
- The students rely most often on external influence to guide and shape their interactions with people of color. These influences included family, friends, media, religion, school and the perceptions or stereotypes that each held about people of color.
- Many of the students described different affective responses associated with their events. Most students expressed anger or fear about people of color.
- Those students who had developed some sort of internal standard often expressed feelings of guilt and shame when they realized that they were not up-holding their standards.

Question 3: "How do traditional-aged White college students define and describe racism?"

- Most students conceived of racism as interactions between two people and the anyone could be racist.
- The majority of students lack a vision of a non-racist world that was inclusive of eliminating racism the institutional and cultural levels.

In the next chapter, the developmental distinctions of the theme clusters will be examined. The ways in which the clusters answer the research questions will be examined in Chapter 6.



## CHAPTER 5

### DEVELOPMENTAL ANALYSIS

#### Introduction

This study examines the ways in which White undergraduate students think about their racial identity by identifying and analyzing some of the interconnections among three aspects of racial identity. As presented in Chapter 2, these three aspects include: (1) a student's sense of self as White, (2) a student's attitudes and beliefs about other racial groups, and (3) a student's definition of racism. A developmental analysis is included in this study because a review of the literature suggests that analysis of multiple developmental domains is the best way to approach a study such as this. The developmental domains examined in this study include self-reflection as it is measured through the Self-Knowledge scale (Weinstein and Alschuler, 1985), and cognitive conceptualization as it is measured through the Conceptualization of Racism model (Bidell, et al., 1994; Lee, et al., 1995).

In the previous chapter, seven theme clusters were identified and discussed in relation to the three research questions. This chapter will analyze these seven theme clusters from a developmental perspective to answer the seven questions found below.

As introduced in Chapter 3, these questions were derived during the data analysis because it was found that the students did not have one specific answer to any of the three original research questions. The seven questions address the ways in which the

interview participants negotiated each cluster from different developmental positions on the Self-Knowledge scale and the Conceptualization of Racism scale.

As described in chapters 2 and 3, the Self-Knowledge scale, administered through the Experience Recall protocol (ERII), is used to assess a person's ability to self-reflect as s/he looks at problematic situations, in this case how s/he was treated differently based his or her racial identity. The Self-Knowledge scale will be used to examine the following four thematic clusters: (2) Recognition of differential treatment based on own racial identity, (3) Characteristics of being White, (4) General beliefs about other racial groups, and (5) Identification of external influence, degree of internal agency, stereotypes and feeling. The Self-Knowledge protocol is used with these thematic clusters because the students are asked to reflect about themselves as members of a racial group and to define the sources of standards by which they base their reactions and responses to people from different racial groups. The Conceptualization of Racism scale, administered through with the Conceptualization of Racism (CRT) pre and post-tests, assesses a person's ability to conceptualize racism in more or less complex fashions. The Conceptualization of Racism scale is used to examine the following three thematic clusters: (1) Definitions of race, ethnicity and self-ascription by race and ethnicity, (6) Anecdotes of racial interactions involved in racism, and (7) Perspectives on racism. Each of these thematic clusters require some level of cognitive conceptualization skills the students define complex terms in each thematic cluster. On the basis of the data derived from the ERII and the CRT this

chapter offers a developmental analysis of White identity as it is reflected through answers to the following seven questions:

1. How do levels of ability to conceptualize race and ethnicity appear to affect the ways in which interviewees name their own racial and ethnic group memberships and define race and ethnicity?
2. How do Self-Knowledge skills appear to affect the ways in which participants were able to describe the ways that they were treated differently because of their racial identity?
3. How do Self-Knowledge skills appear to affect the ways in which participants were able to describe being White?
4. How do Self-Knowledge skills appear to affect the ways in which interviewees relied upon external influences and internal agency to guide their decisions and choices about recognizing and adhering to stereotypes?
5. How do Self-Knowledge skills appear to affect the ways in which participants were able to describe the ways that they were treated differently because of their racial identity?
6. How do the levels of ability to conceptualize racism appear to affect the ways in which interviewees define the relationships involved in their definitions or racism?
7. How do the levels of ability to conceptualize racism appear to affect the ways in which interviewees describe the worst racist actions and the best, most non-racist actions?

In Chapter 4, the inconsistency of some students' responses foreshadowed some of the complexity of this developmental analysis. These inconsistencies demonstrate the students' shifting levels of expertise within skill domains (i.e., self-reflection, and cognition), whereby, these levels of expertise are often dependent on the availability of challenge and support in a given context. These shifting of levels of



expertise are defined in terms of functional and optimal skills (Fischer, 1980) or dominance and accessible positions (Helms, 1995). For the purpose of this chapter and the discussion in Chapter 6, the terms functional and optimal will be used, whereby, functional skills are those skills most easily accessible to the individual, without guidance or support. In comparison, optimal skills are those skills that a person can attain in a structured or supported environment. Individuals can be lead into optimal performance by others who intentionally manage an environment (i.e., instructors) or can choose to enter a new position when they find that their functional skills no longer serve to manage a given situation. With practice and on-going support, an optimal skill can develop into a functional skill, which in turn creates an opening for a new set of optimal skills.

### The Interview Participants

Based upon independent scoring of the ERII responses, the independent coder chose ten students from the sample that represented the broadest range of Self-Knowledge scores. The interview sample included seven women and three men, six students who are 18-19 years old, two who are 20-21 and two who are 22-25. There were seven freshmen, one sophomore, one junior and one senior. Six students came from large, predominantly White high schools. One student was from a private high school and one from a large "racially mixed" high school.



Coding procedures for each of the written tools were carefully followed. After analyzing the ten interview transcripts for content, each transcript was scored for the most complex representation of Self-Knowledge and conceptualization of racism. As discussed in Chapter 3, the participants' interview scores were used as the basis of the developmental analysis. While there was not a significant correlation between the two test results in the larger sample, there is some suggestion that progress on the scales ran in a parallel fashion for these participants (see Table 5.1).

Most of the interviewees' scores on the ERII were stable across the written and interview process. Only two students' interview scores were coded differently from their written response scores. They both moved from Situational-1 to Situational-2. From an analysis of the optimal scores, the interview sample spread across three Self-Knowledge stages: two students were coded at Situational-1, six were coded at Situational-2. Two students were coded at early Pattern-1.

All of the interviewees' abilities to conceptualize racism during the interviews were different from their written CRT response scores. Six students demonstrated increased complexity in their definitions of racism and four demonstrated more simplistic conceptualizations. This raises some questions about the written tool and the coding procedures, both of which will be discussed in Chapter 6. The interview scores spanned almost the entire scale, with one student coded at Step-1, three at Step-1.5 or in transition from Step-1 to Step-2. One student was coded at Step-2, Step-2.5, and at Step-3 respectively, two at Step-3.5 and one at Step-4.5.

Table 5.1 - Self-Knowledge Stages and Conceptualization of Racism Steps

|          | <u>Self-Knowledge *</u> | <u>Conceptualization of Racism **</u> |
|----------|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Bobby    | Situational-1           | Step-1                                |
| Terri    | Situational-1           | Step-1.5                              |
| Mary     | Situational-2           | Step-1.5                              |
| Jackie   | Situational-2           | Step-1.5                              |
| Cathy    | Situational-2           | Step-2                                |
| Danielle | Situational-2           | Step-2.5                              |
| Holly    | Situational-2           | Step-3.5                              |
| Larry    | Situational-2           | Step-3.5                              |
| Ted      | Pattern-1               | Step-4.5                              |
| Linda    | Pattern-1               | Step-3                                |

\* Weinstein and Alshuler, 1985

\*\* Bidell and Lee, 1994

A brief introduction of each interview participant was provided in Chapter 4.

From these biographies we can generally assess the students' frequency of contact and level of intimacy with people from other racial groups . Since the literature relates racial identity development to levels of interaction with people from other racial groups, I will provide a framework, inclusive of three levels (limited contact, acquaintance contact and intimate contact), on the basis of which we can group the students according to their self-reported engagement with people from other racial

groups. Limited contact includes few if any personal interactions with people of color, beyond childhood friends. Acquaintance contact includes some one-to-one interactions in a narrowly defined context such as classmates, or occasional dates. Intimate contact includes relationships with people of color as family members and as close personal adult friends. Table 5.2 depicts the categories to which each of the interviewees would be assigned based on their written and interview narratives.

Table 5.2 - Contact with People from Other Racial Groups

| <b>Limited</b><br>Few if any personal interactions with people of color, beyond childhood friends | <b>Acquaintance</b><br>Some one-to-one interactions in a narrowly defined context such as classmates, or occasional dates | <b>Intimate</b><br>Relationships with people of color as family members and as close personal adult friends |
|---|---|---|
| Bobby<br>Mary<br>Terri  | Cathy<br>Danielle<br>Jackie   | Holly<br>Larry<br>Linda<br>Ted  |

Group 1, Bobby, Mary and Terri, describe that while growing up, they had very few interactions with people from other racial groups. Their experiences in college were very similar with only limited interaction with people from other racial groups. Group 2, Cathy, Danielle, and Jackie described critical incidents in which they had some extended contact with specific individuals from other racial groups. Cathy and Danielle each discussed their interracial dating experiences, while Jackie discussed

her work experiences where she interacted daily with Mexicans. Group 3, Holly, Larry, Linda, and Ted, all had highly interactive experiences with people from other racial groups. Each described many different day-to-day events that have influenced the way in which they have come to perceive of themselves and people of color.

Given the findings in the literature, we should expect to find that those students with increased positive interactions with people of color to have a better understanding of themselves as White, to be less likely to rely on stereotypes, and to have a more complex understanding of racism. In the next section, the seven theme clusters are analyzed with respect to the Self-Knowledge and Conceptualization of Racism scales.

### Developmental Analysis

As outlined in Chapter 3, this developmental analysis is designed to address the seven questions of how the interviewees negotiate each cluster from their respective developmental positions on the Self-Knowledge scale or the Conceptualization of Racism scale. These questions become answerable substitutes for the general research questions which will be addressed again in Chapter 6. Each cluster is presented separately and assessed on the scales as identified above. The analysis will be conducted in a sequential fashion, moving from most simplistic positions to most complex positions. Examples from each student will be presented to demonstrate the variability within any single position from the respective models. A summary of changing thinking is provided at the end of each theme cluster analysis.



### Definitions of Race, Ethnicity and Self-ascription by Race and Ethnicity

How do levels of ability to conceptualize race and ethnicity appear to affect the ways in which interviewees name their own racial and ethnic group memberships and define race and ethnicity?

All of the participants named their racial group membership as White or Caucasian on the Personal Information sheet. Four students (Bobby, Jackie, Holly, and Larry) used the same terms to describe their ethnicity. Three students (Cathy, Mary, and Danielle) defined their ethnicity as American. Two students (Linda and Ted) named European heritage as their ethnicity and one student (Terri) left the field blank. During the interviews, most participants could identify some aspects of European heritage as their ethnic group membership. As identified in Chapter 4, these students' self-ascription reflected the confusions of terms exhibited in their immediate environments which tend to be racially organized. Since each student was eventually able to self-ascribe an ethnic and racial group membership, there appears to be no connection between the way in which the interviewees self-ascribed and their ability to conceptualize complex terms as demonstrated through their CRT scores. From this we can conclude that the ability to self-ascribe racial and ethnic group membership is distinct from the ability to define complex terms like race, ethnicity and racism.

The interview participants were asked to define race and ethnicity. Their definitions were compared for complexity and placed on a continuum defined at one end by definitions that reflected simple constructions and at the other end by

definitions reflecting complex constructions. Table 5.3 reflects the way in which the participants' definitions were placed on the continuum along with their respective CRT scores. The CRT scores were included to assess whether defining racism was a process similar to defining race and ethnicity. There appears to be some parallel development between the complexity of the participants' definitions of racism (CRT test scores) and the complexity of their definitions of race and ethnicity. The comparison is provided so that the CRT scores can be used as a developmental framework to analyze the complexity of the students' definitions of race and ethnicity.

Table 5. 3 - Parameters of Definitions of Race and Ethnicity

|  |  |   |
|--|--|---|
| Race is defined as skin color. Ethnicity is confounded with race | Race is an umbrella represented by skin color. Ethnicity represents more cultural aspects. | Race is a social construction used to limit groups of people. Ethnicity represents their unique cultures. |
| Bobby, Step-1<br>Terri, Step-1.5<br>Mary, Step-1.5               | Jackie, Step-1.5<br>Holly, Step-3.5  | Cathy, Step-2<br>Ted, Step-4.5<br>Danielle, Step-2.5<br>Linda, Step-3<br>Larry, Step-3.5                  |

Step-1 and Step-1.5

The students coded at the earliest Step scores (1 and 1.5) conceptualized complex issues in simple terms. As this relates to definitions of race and ethnicity, these students could not define the terms, or constructed very simple definitions such as "race is skin color."

For example, Bobby (Step-1) could not provide definitions for the terms. He demonstrated the clearest example of the struggle that existed for these students. As presented in Chapter 4, Bobby was not sure what race was. He thought there was not a difference between race and ethnicity. When asked about his own ethnic group membership, he said, "I think it's, I can't remember what the definition, can't think of the class definition." Bobby could not construct his own definitions. When prompted for knowledge about his parents' background, Bobby knew that they were Italian and German but he did not know what word was used to describe that part of his identity. Clearly, Bobby's case illustrates the level of conceptualization in which a person cannot differentiate between race and ethnicity and represents a simplified version of complex identity issues.

Terri, Mary, and Jackie, each of whom were coded at Step-1.5, were able to define race as skin color, but could not elaborate beyond that point. Terri thought race referred to color, which was the basis on which people chose to discriminate against each other. When asked about the difference between race and ethnicity, she struggled because she remembered that Jews were discriminated against also.

Well, because I don't think people from like, people that are, well, I don't know because Jews get discriminated against and things like that. And their skin is White and I couldn't tell them apart. So maybe not.

Terri understands that race equals color and color is the factor by which most people discriminate. However, she gets confused when Jews, as an ethnic group, are considered. She concluded by saying that people discriminate against skin color and



nationality so there was no difference between race and ethnicity. While Terri was able to identify interrelated variables, she was not able to construct a framework through which to manage the interrelatedness of the variables simultaneously.

Mary also struggled with the terminology in ways similar to Terri. She thought that race was about skin color and background, although she did not have a definition for background. She also could not define the difference between race and ethnicity. Mary knew that her background was German and there was some Native American, about which she joked and said not to tell her grandparents.

It is extremely mixed but I guess the biggest part of me is German. But I do have Native American and everything else mixed in there...but don't tell my grandparents. (laugh)

Mary's laughter was used to cover up some discomfort she experienced in naming herself as a Native American. I asked how she could be Native American and that her grandparents did not know. She could not answer. She implied that her grandparents would not be pleased to know that she had Native American ancestry. Once again we see the dynamic interplay between cognitive and emotional reactions in response to probing in this area. Self-ascription is a difficult process for many White students. Mary's discomfort was demonstrated though her laughter when the contradiction of her story was identified.

Jackie had a definition of race, but was not as clear about ethnicity. She thought of race as skin color and background, or culture. She said that race and ethnicity were part of the "political correctness issues." When asked what she meant



by political correctness, Jackie said it was "ridiculous," but declared that people should be allowed to name themselves.

Politically correct - I think it gets ridiculous. Just what you're supposed to say at this day and age or whatever the time period. Like you're not supposed to say White you're supposed to say Caucasian. Or you're not suppose to say Black you're suppose to say African American. You've got to be politically correct.

Jackie's definitions of race and ethnicity differs in context from the previous examples because she brings in cultural understandings through her discussion of political correctness. However, her definitions share the same level of complexity as the others. Race is still about skin color and ethnicity lacks a definition, but needs to be considered because others are sensitive to it. Her desire to not to offend others was highlighted in Chapter 4.

Conceptually students who scored at Steps 1 and 1.5 have uncomplicated definitions of race and ethnicity, often so simplistic that it is easy to confound the terms. In the examples above, race was most often thought of as skin color, reflective of the ways in which their immediate environments are sorted by racial categories. The students lacked clear definitions of ethnicity. It was defined as background, or culture, both of which also could not be defined by respondents.

#### Step-2 and Step-2.5

Students coded at Step-2 and 2.5 are expected to conceptualize more complex definitions of race and ethnicity. Students are expected to introduce many variables

but will lack clear frameworks through which to manage the variables in an interrelated fashion. Below we find examples of Step-2 and 2.5 thinking about race and ethnicity.

Cathy (Step-2) provided a simple framework for the definitions of race and ethnicity. When asked about why she was clear about the terms, she said that she has always been aware of being White and always knew that she was Irish. She just assumed that other groups had the same situations. However, she still lacked a clear conceptualization of ethnicity, defining it as "where one is from."

I consider myself White. I always think that I'm White and Irish and English. Where as I'm sure that Black people think they're Black, or Africans or where ever....I think a Black person, they still have ethnicity as being from wherever.

Clearly, Cathy represents an individual who can minimally distinguish between race and ethnicity on a personal level, but lacks a conceptual framework from which to think about the distinctions across groups.

As presented in Chapter 4, Danielle defined race as skin color. She developed this definition based on her understanding of the way in which history was recounted. She perceived of the treatment Native Americans and Blacks received from Whites to be based solely on skin color. In the passage below, she identifies her rage for the way in which Whites acted. In the second passage she hints at a framework for the way in which she believes race, ethnicity and nationality are related.

I was very angry at my own nationality and my own race for doing that. And I could not justify how one man had the right to rule over another one. That is when it really hit me. That these people, because of the color of their skin were treated differently. So yes, that's how I would define race.

Nationality is just the country you're born in. My nationality would be American. And if you lived in Ireland it would be Irish. But ethnicity, I feel like ethnicity has a lot to do with your race. I mean your culture because there are definitely very, very different cultures within a race.

She defined nationality as the place that you were born and ethnicity as the cultural component of race. However, when asked to define culture, she could not provide a clear definition of the term.

At Step-2 of the CRT, participants were able to name information that complicated the simple definitions developed by the students coded at Step-1 and 1.5. Students coded at Step-2 and 2.5 included an acknowledgment of the complexities of how cultural difference are racialized based on skin color and the recognition how of these differences were constructed in a specific historical context. Danielle's definition of race and ethnicity incorporated contextual components. However, her interpretation of this information was still filtered through dualistic lenses reflective of definitions from previous positions.

### Step-3 and Step-3.5

Students coded at Step-3 and 3.5 are expected to have clear frameworks for the relationships between variables in their definitions of race and ethnicity. They are also expected to introduce indications of the way in which context (i.e., history, environment, etc.) influences their definitions of the terms.



Prior to presenting the examples, it is important to pause for a moment to point out an idiosyncrasy of language that emerged in the students' discussions of race and ethnicity. The participants coded at Step-1 through Step-2.5 defined "American" as an ethnicity or a nationality. However, the participants who scored Step-3 and higher defined "American" as a code word for White. These students demonstrated an increased awareness about the interrelationship between race and racism as it plays out in the United States. They were able to describe some of the ways whiteness is defined as "normal" in the United States. Having called attention to this, let's return to the passages.

Linda, Holly, and Larry (Step-3, 3.5 and 3.5, respectively) each had definitions of the terms which were similar to Danielle's in that they incorporated contextual components. However, their frameworks were more clearly developed. Race, according to students at this level, was defined as skin color and served as an umbrella term under which many different ethnic groups could be found.

Linda said the difference between the race and ethnicity was that ethnicity was not limited to skin color. It also had to do with national origin.

There is somewhat of a difference. You could say that someone is African or Latino and they would probably take offense and say I'm from Paraguay, I'm from Kenya which is the ethnicity I guess. So in that sense there is some difference. Ethnicity is not just based on skin color.

When asked to define "American," Linda said she thought of "White English guys with wigs." This implied that there are some social implications to the term.



Holly's definition of race was similar to Linda's, but she was less sure about ethnicity.

Isn't ethnicity? Cause that's just your ethnic background. I'm always confused on those terms. Anyway, when we talk about them I'm not quite sure, ethnic is that like more culture? I don't really know

Holly also struggled with nationality and American. In order to describe nationality, she named aspects of what she conceived of as an American identity. Note how she tries to tease out manageable bites only to confuse herself more. The multiplicity of the term seems to sound almost overwhelming to her. In defining American she says:

You could grow up in Montana and you might see mostly Whites and go down to California and see a lot of Mexicans. American is so diverse. It's hard to say there is one American culture because it's like a whole bunch of cultures in one. So I guess nationality, that is really hard because what would be American? Cause everything we have is samples of everyone else's. So that's kinda hard to define.

Larry also shared a conceptualization of the terms similar to Linda. He said race is your skin color and ethnicity is your place of origin or for those from mixed [bi-racial] families, ethnicity is a word used to rate one's family tree. Larry defined "American" as the White system. In doing so, Larry introduced a clear relationship between racism and race. Whites, as a group based on skin color, inherently have more opportunities than other racial groups.

I think American is the White system. That is the White government. It's looked at as a White place. Theoretically I guess it's the melting pot of all of the cultures and that whole name to it. I think that America has always been looked at as the promise land, the place of opportunity, but I don't think that is a reality for everybody.

The students who coded were at Step-3 and Step-3.5 were able to coordinate definitions of race and ethnicity in relationship to other concepts. As demonstrated through Larry's awareness of race and racism, these students begin to coordinate two sets of dualistic relationships into partial systems. They demonstrate increased complexity in a second fashion, by naming hypothesis about the social construction of the terms, for example the multiple meanings given to "American."

#### Step-4.5

Students coded above Step-4 are expected to have insights into the systematic nature of the relationship between race and ethnicity. Ted (Step-4.5) demonstrates this in his definition of race. He named three different dimensions of the term: (1) race has to do with skin color; (2) it is a way to identify your background; and (3) it is a social construction used to control people. His use of the social construction demonstrates his understanding of the systematic nature of the ways in which race and ethnicity impact one's life individually, institutionally and culturally.

I think it's a social construction because of the fact that it's a way of saying that I'm better than you or I should have a better job or I'm going to hire this person or this other person because of the color of their skin. So in that way I think it's a way to control people

While he was clear about race, Ted had a harder time defining ethnicity, which he finally decided was "learned cultural traits." This is a more complex definition than those presented by the students previously because it includes recognition of a much

clearer identification of the influence that context has in defining and shaping one's identity.

Ethnicity deals with your culture more than the color of your skin. There's a big difference between ethnicity and race in my opinion because, the old example you've probably heard. If you raise a Hispanic boy in White household, he's going to take on White traits and that culture even though he's Hispanic and that may cause some kind of confusion in the future for that child. But that's what he grows up with but his ethnicity may be White even though his race may be something else.

Ted demonstrated a high level of conceptualization skills. However, self-ascription was very difficult for him.

My race is, I don't know. That's a good question. I've never really thought about it. I've never answered what's my race. My race is (pause) White I guess. My ethnicity? I'm just like 6th generation American. That's my ethnicity.

When asked about his earlier reference to his Scottish heritage, Ted said that was part of his father's past. He did not identify it as part of his ethnicity because he did not celebrate it in any symbolic fashion. He introduced another problem White people face, the complexity of ethnicity and a national identity.

I wouldn't say so. No because I don't have a kilt or wear plaid. My ethnicity would be, I don't know, it's a funny thing. What do you call your ethnicity when you're born here in the United States?

As is quite clear from Ted's two examples, the ability of students coded at Step-4 and above is more complex than the students at previous Steps



## Summary

The complexities of the participants' abilities to conceptualize race and ethnicity appear to parallel the complexities of their abilities to conceptualize racism. Those students coded at Step-1 and 1.5 define race as skin color with no definition for ethnicity which illustrates the very limited definitions found at the least complex end of the scale presented on Table 5.3. Increased complexity is demonstrated by those students (Step-2 and 2.5) who start to develop frameworks in which to name relationships between the terms with race serving as an umbrella over ethnicity. Those students with clear frameworks (Step-3 and above) begin to coordinate relationships between race and racism in partial systems. They begin to acknowledge the benefits Whites receive due merely to racial group membership. Those students at Step-4 and above construct systematic relationships between the race and ethnicity and the ways these interact in a racist environment in which Whites benefit.

Additionally, the students demonstrate various emotional responses to self-ascription of race and ethnicity. Those student with less developed definitions experience general discomfort with naming themselves as members of groups because they want to define themselves as individuals. Those students with more complex definitions of race, ethnicity and racism experience a different sense of frustration and resistance to naming themselves. It appears that transferring the abstract definitions they presented to their own lives is difficult because it requires that they, personally, acknowledge their White identity as they define it in a racist society.



## Recognition of Differential Treatment Based on Own Racial Identity

How do Self-Knowledge skills appear to affect the ways in which participants were able to describe the ways that they were treated differently because of their racial identity?

As identified in Chapter 4, the students responses to the ERII protocols appeared to be grounded in two different interpretations of "individual" which in turn guided their interpretations of "different treatment." First, are those students who followed an individualistic ideology, in which: (1) all people are seen as individuals, (2) all social group differences are perceived of as equal in social status and (3) "different treatment" was defined as discrimination which occurs in reciprocal action between individuals, independent of racial group membership. Second, are those students who did not adhere to the ideological perspective, but rather (1) recognized group membership and (2) defined "different treatment" as the effects they experienced personally. This split becomes evident in the examples representing Sit-2 thinking.

### Situational-1

Students coded at Situational-1 (Sit-1) are expected to describe discrete episodes which are not connected to other experiences because they lack experiences and they lack the ability to recognize sets of situations so they can not identify connections. Additionally, they typically rely upon external influences, such as

parents, social expectations, and peers to shape their reactions and responses. In the case of this theme cluster, most Sit-1 thinkers will require a "racial other" to be present in order for them to consider race as a salient factor in an incident. Their reactions and responses will be based on the stereotypes they hold about the "racial other."

Bobby and Terri named a limited number of isolated incidents in which they felt as if they were treated differently because of their racial group membership. Each defined "different treatment" from within the individualistic ideology as defined above. They both described incidents in which they felt discriminated against by Black people.

Bobby described playing basketball with some Black students as the sole time he was treated differently because of his race. He said he felt intimidated when he played ball with Black students.

I think it was about me playing intramural against Black players and I think that's when I first realized that I was discriminated against...I was intimidated because they were playing as if they were better than [me] and they knew themselves that they were better than me. And I thought that I was intimidated so I felt pressure from that.

When asked to describe what aspects of the situation intimidated him, what made him think it was about his race, he said the Black men did not talk to him. They talked to other players more, especially other players who were "the same as them."

Well, I think they talk more to other players, that are the same as them. They don't talk to us. I guess that's why I'm intimidated.

Bobby had been one of the better players on his high school team so he knew that he could play basketball well. However, playing with Black students was new for him

and the Black students' style was different. He did not want them to be mad at him so he changed his playing style when he played with them. He gave them the ball and hardly ever shot. When asked if it got easier each time he played, Bobby said he experienced the same feelings all the time.

I think it's always the same feeling, because they always, I see that all the time when I play against them.

Terri demonstrated similar Sit-1 thinking in her description of a relationship she had with a Black boy named Steve in junior high. Back then "everyone just got along."

We had different races in junior high, I mean not that many but one of my friends was African American and he was just great. I mean we didn't have that many different races but he was. I think he was the only one in our grade. Everyone loved him and we just hung out all the time. He was just a fun guy. He was funny. He was just hilarious and it wasn't a big deal for us in junior high, different races or anything. We didn't really care what the color or whatever. Everyone just hung out with everyone.

This experience contrasted with the experience that Terri described from high school. The circumstances changed in high school in that Terri found the Black students stayed together in their own group. In Chapter 4, she described a situation in which a group of Black "gangsters" threw gum at her. She concluded that they did this because of her race.

When asked about her response to the gum throwing incidents, Terri said she was mad. She said that she did not do anything because it was a group of guys. When



asked how she managed her anger, she said she directed at Black people, especially the gangsters. She used her past experiences to construct conditions upon which she based her anger.

I mean in a little way it was directed towards Black people but not in some ways. It was more of the gangsters that they were, because they all acted like gangsters and stuff. Cause like Steve, that guy that I grew up with in junior high, I didn't direct that towards him or people that weren't gangsters, but more towards the people who were the gangsters.

Terri had very little interaction with the students whom she called "gangsters."

When asked why she was afraid of them she said it was their appearance and that she was afraid that they might hurt her. However, she never experienced incidents upon which she could base her assumptions. In fact, she described conflicting situations in which the "African Americans would always get blamed for everything. If a White guy started a fight, they'd get blamed, the Blacks..." Terri said this unfair treatment was a result of the students' gangster-like appearance. She declined to acknowledge that it also might be racially based.

I think because they, the way they dress and the way they talked, probably the administrator thought that they were, bad for the school or what not. I don't really think it had to do so much with the color of their skin but just how they portrayed themselves because we had, with our administration, different races and things....I don't think it's fair at all, because you shouldn't be judged by what you wear you know, but sometimes the way you act can make it so you're in the wrong.

In the situations above, Bobby and Terri described reactions (intimidated and angry) that were beyond those found in the Elemental stage of the Self-Knowledge



model. Both responded to the incidents based upon their expectations of the external influences involved in the situations. In both cases, their responses were guided by the intimidation, fear and the stereotypes they held about the people from different racial groups.

### Situational-2

The students coded at Situational-2 (Sit-2) are expected to tell richer, more coherent stories. Additionally, these students typically start to name some internally understood connections between their reactions or responses to the situation and the fact that they are White. We typically expect to see the split between definitions of individual presented about at this stage.

Mary described her experiences as an exchange student in Costa Rica. She was the only "blond hair, blue eyed person there and had to go through a lot of that with discrimination." The native people had many stereotypes about American women and she often overheard them talking about her. Mary said this made her feel completely stupid. When asked why, she said that they would bad mouth her to her face. She knew what they were saying and there was nothing she could do.

Later, Mary talked about her residence hall where there was only one Black woman. According to Mary, the Black woman eventually left to be with her friends. When asked to compare her situation in Costa Rica with the experience of the only Black woman in the residence hall, Mary could not identify any similarities.

We all accepted her immediately. None of us had any reservations about going and making friends with her, just like the rest of the people. But down there I had to fight to make friends with people, to get them to look into my world to see that I was a human being too.

Mary said she got angry when things happened to her in Costa Rica. When this happened she would leave the situation. She described herself as non-confrontational because she did not want to get in trouble or embarrass her host family. She said, the typical way in which she handled anger was to leave. However, when asked what stopped her from confronting others now, she quickly related back to the circumstances of her story. "I'm not in that situation anymore. Now there's no need to. I got no need to." Mary could not identify any patterns in her reactions which she believed were dependent on the circumstances of the situation.

Jackie demonstrated similar Sit-2 thinking in her description of experiences on a reservation when two Native American women were rude to her. Jackie was taught that "you get what you deserve," another characteristic of the individualist ideology.

I didn't really understand it cause I never encountered people treating me like that before. I didn't really think about it too much though. I was like OK what ever if they want to be like that I'm not going to worry about it. It made me mad cause I didn't think I had done anything. I mean they didn't know me, so I hadn't done anything to deserve it. But what can you do?...I didn't do anything. I just ignored it.

Above, Jackie identified the way in which she managed the situation. She shrugged her shoulders, said "OK what ever" and then ignored the conflict. When I asked her if this was her typical response, Jackie paused for a moment before she said that this was a

unique situation. However, she also added that, in other negative experiences, she also ignored things or pretended that they did not happen.

(pause) Actually that's the only time I can really, I mean as far as negative, I can remember anybody of other races saying anything negative about me. But yeah, I normally just ignore comments, pretend I didn't hear it (laughs).

I challenged her to think about why she chose to ignore this situation. I pointed out the conditions of the situation, namely she was on the reservation. She said that she did not worry because the two men who were with her told her not to worry. While she was nervous, Jackie did not trust her own intuition. Rather, she followed the lead of the young men, the external influences in the situation.

It made me nervous. I think if it would have been just Lynne and I, I probably would have been a little more nervous, but these two guys we were with were from there. They told us, "just don't worry about it, they're not worth it." They weren't going to let anybody do anything to us basically. But it might have been a little different if it were just her and I and then we would have been like "OK"

It is important to note that Jackie's response also demonstrates feminine gendered responses to anger and confrontation. Her examples illustrate an important point, that it is difficult to isolate and examine one component of social identity separate and distinct from others. In this case, Jackie's examples are representative of circumstances of individualistic ideology based on race interacting concurrently with gender socialization.



Cathy struggled to think about a time in which she was treated differently because of her race. Like others, she also thought she needed a "racial other" present for race to be a salient factor in a situation. Notably, with her limited number of interactions with people of color, identifying responses based on presence of "racial others" was challenging.

That's a hard one (laugh) (pause) The only thing that I can think about in this moment, I'll probably think of something later.

She went on to describe the date she had with the Japanese boy which was introduced in Chapter 4. She was frustrated because the boyfriend and other man were speaking in Japanese and she believed they could have easily been talking about her. This was the only situation she could identify in which she was treated differently because of her race. She demonstrated no ability to take the perspective that these students found it easier to talk in their native language, rather she focused on the concern that she might be the object of their conversation. She could not describe any other time in which she had similar feelings.

Reflecting on a related situation, Cathy later talked about being afraid of people from other racial groups. Her experience in the college town, in which she felt relatively safe, was different than her experience in the city. She said the environment contributed to her feelings.

Say I am in downtown Seattle at like 7:00 and it's dark, it's the winter time and I am waiting for a bus and if there's like a person of another a race who is dressed decently then I'm not afraid. But if that person of another race is



dressed in a threatening, if they present themselves in a threatening way, like their dress or the way they carry themselves then I'll be afraid. But I'm also afraid if that person is White so I don't know if it's so much the race compared to the way they are presenting themselves.

While Cathy clarified her statement by saying her fear was related to clothes and location rather than race, she quickly resorted back to race as the determinant for the rest of her examples.

I think if they are of another race and say they're in a gang motif then I better not look at them wrong or look at them as though I'm like judging them or think I'm superior to them because then they're going to, they might interpret the look wrong or something.

Cathy never experienced physical harm or crime. However, when asked why or how she knew to be afraid of the "gangsters" she explained that the media and her parents contributed towards her feelings.

The news didn't tell me to be afraid of Black people or Asians or Mexicans. But they told me to be afraid because crimes are out there waiting to be committed. You have to be more on edge or something. They [my parents] never told me to beware there's some Black guy out there. They just told me to be careful if you're coming home late. They never made it a racial thing though. It was always "be careful" for my safety no matter.

All of the sources of Cathy's fear are external influences. As reflective of Sit-2 thinking, she has not demonstrated the ability to link her reactions and responses internally.

Similarly, Danielle also reported that she was intimidated by Black people. She explained that she is not sure why she felt this way, but she knew that she did not like to be around Black women when she was dating a Black man.

A lot of time I feel very intimidated by Black women and I can't really pinpoint it but because I like to date Black men and I feel like they don't like White women dating their Black men. That's how I see it. I could be totally wrong and that's a generalized statement, a stereotype. It is not about specific people.

When asked if a Black woman ever approached her, Danielle said no. However, she was clear about her feelings and the discomfort she experienced.

No, I can't think of any time that a Black woman ever did anything to me but somehow, I did get the idea into my head that they didn't want me around and they didn't want me near their men and I really don't know where that came from but that was definitely a strong thought.

In the statement above, Danielle begins to identify internal reactions. She knows she has a feeling, but she does not know the source of this feeling. She said, "somehow I did get the idea into my head" and it was a strong feeling. This acknowledgment of internal reactions is an early indicator of a possible transition between Situational and Pattern thinking.

Holly, one of the students with intimate experiences with people of color, had lots of stories about times in which she was treated differently because of her race. She described times when she felt discriminated against and times in which she realized that she benefited as a result of her White identity. Below, Holly describes a time she

felt discriminated against by her Black neighbors when her family moved into her current father's house.

When we first moved in a lot of the people in the neighborhood were so, especially a lot of the Black women, especially the single Black women, were really mad at my mom. One time these [women] they were like "I can't believe Dave married a White woman, I can't believe Dave married a White woman" It was really hard at first cause just walking up the street and people were looking at you and I'm like "OK they know, my mom, what ever" I hated it at first. It's like I wished they just get over the race thing you know. They acted [like] it's so hard for them. I hated it at first, I really did. And then it got better but there were still people who were really upset. I would like be scared for my mom. I always thought someone might want to get her beat up or something cause she, I don't know, but I think everything worked out OK, hopefully.

Notice how Holly tries to avoid using stereotypes by reducing or narrowing her descriptions of Black women to single Black women. This sounds very familiar to the way in which Cathy tried to clarify her thinking. The difference being that Holly was consistent in this behavior. She also demonstrated shifting perspectives in her reflections on the changing circumstances and consequently her changing reactions.

Holly also described a time in which she was treated differently by another White person. While her supervisor was telling a story about a Black man who allegedly raped a White woman at gun point, Holly remembered that she said, "Yeah, all they want to do is intimidate us and try to make us feel scared." Holly said this made her feel uncomfortable because she knew she would work with this person for a while and she did not want her supervisor to assume that she agreed with her on this point. Holly chose to tell her supervisor about her step-father who is Black as an



example of a person who does not match these stereotypes. It was this situation (as presented in Chapter 4) to which Holly referred when she said she benefited as a White person because she would not have gotten the job if she were Black.

Larry's background was similar to Holly in that he had many friends who were from different racial groups. There was only one brief time during high school in which the majority of his friends were White. As a result, he also had many situations in which he felt he had been treated differently. He described situations framed in the individualistic ideology and situations that were shaped by a context in which he experienced the results of racism on a personal level.

First, Larry selected the scholarship application process as the time in which he felt he was treated differently because of his racial identity. He said that it was the first time he felt limited based on race. When asked about the results of this perceived inequity, he acknowledged that he did not get the scholarships, but that this really had little impact on his ability to get into college. He knew that he had access to other sources of money. When asked why he did not get as upset as other White people who were adamantly against minority recruitment scholarships, Larry said, "I guess I really did not have strong beliefs about this stuff." He acknowledged that he came up with that example because he thought it was what was wanted for the research project.

When I asked him how he really felt, he described the following:

I see everyday decisions being made that are in the best interest of White you know, middle-class people. Maybe perhaps questioning affirmative action, social security, health care, umm, welfare, I think economically, economic



decisions are made all the time by legislators and people that are in power and that have power to influence what will best benefit them.

As described in Chapter 4, there were times when Larry was ashamed of his whiteness. This emotion is indicative of internal reaction which Larry has not fully named but still serves as a motivator for him to try and change circumstances.

Each of the students at Sit-2 described critical incidents that were similar to the situations described by Sit-1 thinkers. In most cases the stories were about discrimination the students felt from a person or persons of color. Only two of the students described incidents in which they were treated differently than people of color by other White people. At Sit-2, the majority of the thinking was grounded in the individualistic ideology and in most cases, the presence of a "racial other" was necessary to initiate reflection on self as White. Those students who did recognize whiteness as part of their experiences in a racially stratified society also had intimate contact with people of color. It was often through daily comparison with people of color that these few students realized the ways in which they benefit as Whites.

#### Pattern-1

While optimal scores were used to define the distinctions in the theme clusters, it should be noted that the two students at this stage were at early transitions into Pattern-1 (Pat-1). In most cases their descriptions of the ways in which they

recognized being treated differently based on racial identity, were very similar to the descriptions that Danielle, Holly and Larry provided in Situational-2.

Ted described a time in which he and his wife went to the Chicano student center. They felt as if they were not accepted in the center. Ted said this is the same feeling he had when he was in a Chicano Studies class.

Here's an example of being judged on race, in my class there's like three Chicanos. I guess they consider themselves Chicano. And my wife and I, we went to the Chicano Hispanic student center on campus. My wife is Hispanic but she's not Chicano according to the definition of Chicano as many of them would have it...There were several people in the Center that were really nice, but these 3 in class, ever since I met them, they gave us the cold shoulder, pretty much the whole time. Like, "you don't understand what we're going through" The fact that they do that kind of thing makes you just not want to be a part of it. But it didn't discourage us or anything.

Ted managed his feelings in a controlled manner during the early part of the interview. However, as we talked about the way in which some Chicano students challenged him, he got noticeably upset. He was certain that his experiences as a missionary gave him more insight into Chicano issues than any undergraduate could have.

The fact that I lived in El Paso and Sinco Dimio, I probably know more than they do, because I actually lived right down there with them everyday. They, obviously, from what I can see, all grew up in middle class homes and they feel like they're so Chicano. They can't talk to these Whites. It just makes me sick sometimes.

He was even more passionate when he talked about the way in which his wife was excluded by the students.

That's another thing that discouraged me in the way they handled things because my wife faces the same kind of things that they do. They're not going

to stop and ask her, "Are you Mexican or are you something else?" They just judge her on her skin color.

Clearly, Ted showed strong emotions in these responses. This appears to inhibit him from recognizing the limitations of his experiences as a White man on a mission as it compares with the Chicano students' cumulative life experiences growing up in a racially stratified society.

As stated in Chapter 4, Ted said that in class, and in other situations, the Chicano students tried to teach White people to feel guilty. He understood why Chicano students talked about Whites unearned privileges and benefits. In fact, he realized that if given the choice to be from a different race, he would have difficulty making the decision. However, Ted resented other people for trying to make him feel guilty. He did not want to help the Chicano movement because he felt guilty, rather he supported it because of his wife.

Early we noted that, conceptually, Ted was able to recognize the role of racism but he had difficulty applying this knowledge to himself. When he acknowledged that it would be difficult to change racial groups because of the privileges he receives as White man, he demonstrated an ability to see and name the effects of racism on a personal level.

Linda was also learning to distinguish the effects of discrimination on her personal life. In Chapter 4, Linda talked about an experience in which she met her Black boyfriend's family. She acknowledged that the family was very nice and tried to



make her comfortable, but she was still uncomfortable, which she described as her insecurities.

I should make it clear that when I did meet these people, they were always nice to me. I was not actually treated differently. My wondering come mostly from my insecurities and also from the media.

Linda named the multiple sources of her feelings. She relied on both internal feelings (insecurities) and external influences such as the media to prompt her self-talk. Linda "turned things around" to examine and gain perspective on situations.

When I first started dating Black guys was when I really felt it more because I worried about what their friends and parents would think. I always turned everything around, cause I hear about, they call each other sell-outs a lot. And I really worried about that. Really worried. I don't necessarily worry about it but I feel now that I know how it feels, cause I know when I brought my friend Anthony home to meet everyone, I know that he felt uncomfortable and I felt that uncomfortableness. And it was good, it was very good for me to feel that because I learned a lot.

Linda recognized what it meant to be treated differently because of race by "stepping into the shoes" of people of color.

When asked about the difference between recognizing her whiteness and recognizing what a person of color might feel, Linda continued to focus on the person of color. She said she learned empathy as a result of turning around experiences when she was a numerical minority in a situation. This, coupled with positive interactions with people of color, helped change her views.

I mean that's what changed me. Because I got a taste of it and that's why I'm so understanding. There's no way, absolutely no way that I will fully understand it of course...if I had my choice it would never come up, but that's



selfish because of course it's never going to come up for me. And I started to change with my positive experiences. And they would tell me things. Like this guy, he told me he got pulled over 3 times for being in the wrong community. Just hearing stuff like that and I'm always the type of person that I turn situations around and be, "What if that was me?" And I'd go no wonder everyone is so pissed off. Like geez!

Linda learned to be empathetic because of past experiences. She managed difficult situations through "self-talk" in which she tries to imagine what the situation would be like if she were in the other person's position. She has learned to take perspective on "other," however, she still has not learned to focus her attention onto herself as a White person.

### Summary

At Situational-1, participants can identify a limited number of events and reactions and responses which they experience being treated differently based on racial identity. Their stories lack depth and continuity. They describe reactions to the events that were beyond those of the Elemental stage. However, in each case the reactions (primarily fear, or intimidation) are linked to external influences (i.e., general beliefs or stereotypes about others). These reactions are not connected in any way to internal agency.

Those participants at coded Situational-2 have stories that are more coherent and have richer details. Like the students coded at Sit-1, the Sit-2 students with limited interactions with people from other racial groups interpret the situations within

the individualistic ideology. Therefore it was easy for them to see that they were the victims in many of the situations. The Sit-2 students with more positive interactions with people from other racial groups demonstrate shifting perspectives as it relates to the two different definitions of "individual." They rely on the individualistic ideology and also present examples of the situations in which they are effected personally in a given context. In both cases, the Sit-2 thinkers still rely most often on external influences (i.e., the presence of people of color, a bad White person, etc.) to prompt their reactions and responses. At Pattern-1, the participants name White as a group and understand how Whites benefit in a racist society. They describe global behaviors such as, "turning things around" and wanting to be "Christ-like" as a way in which to describe their internal process.

It is important to pause a moment and consider the information presented on Tables 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3 coupled with the information presented above. There appears to be some relationship between the variety of responses within the Self-Knowledge stages, the students' experiences with members of other racial groups and their ability to conceptualize complex definitions for race, ethnicity and racism. Participants coded Sit-2 had the largest variations in CRT scores. Mary, Jackie, Cathy and Danielle each described situations that were similar to those described by Bobby and Terri in Situational-1. All five embraced the individualistic ideology; had limited interactions with people from other racial groups; and had similar CRT scores. Holly and Larry had more positive personal experiences with people from other racial groups, and had

higher CRT scores. While they relied functionally on the individual ideology, when prompted, they were able to redefine individual as personal experiences in which they demonstrated awareness that Whites were not treated like people from other racial groups, but rather benefited in some cases because of their skin color. Ted and Linda (Pat-1) also had many different experiences with people from other racial groups and each scored relatively high on the CRT scale. The stories they told were similar to the ones told by Holly and Larry. Their Pattern-1 responses were highlighted through the global internal standards they each began to articulate (i.e., turn things around, and to be Christ-like).

### Characteristics of Being White

How do Self-Knowledge skills appear to affect the ways in which participants were able to describe being White?

Individuality, an America ideal, is the primary way in which the majority of participants described being White. As previously mentioned, very few participants consistently identified themselves as members of a racial or ethnic group. In the following examples, we see the ways in which the participants described individuality and other conditions they perceived to be related to being White.

### Situational-1

Sit-1 thinkers have limited ability to describe events and demonstrate no ability to see patterns in terms of their reactions and responses. They will resist naming a group membership because they will be strongly rooted in the individualistic ideology where in they will not identify as a member of a racial group but rather as an individual.

Bobby is a clear example of a student who demonstrates Sit-1 thinking. The majority of Bobby's interactions with people from other racial groups were negative. Previously, he described the discomfort he felt in his interaction with the Black men with whom he played basketball. When asked if he felt as if he missed out on anything because of his limited interaction, Bobby said no. He said that in the future, if he needed to interact with people from other races, he would need to be color-blind.

I'd try to be definitely more color blind because it's just the way I've been brought up. I try to make friends with everybody I can, no matter what race or color. I'd try to cause if I didn't I'd never go out. I'd stay in my place where I lived. I wouldn't have any friends to call or go out with.

When asked about the reality of being color-blind, Bobby agreed that it was easier to be color-blind in a community with very little racial difference like the one in which he grew up than it would to be in a community with more diversity. Bobby also acknowledged that, while living in his predominantly White community, he did not have to think about his race. He thought that people from other racial groups had to think of their race more than he did.



I don't know if there's more White or Black people on this campus or that play basketball so I guess from being from basically an all White community I just thought of it as more dominant. I thought it because there is more White people in our league that played. I guess I haven't translated that over to college as playing with more with a growing number of people that are different races. I haven't thought of it too much as thinking about my race.

In describing this process, Bobby demonstrated the Sit-1 thinking by returning to the basketball game, the only example which he could use to construct his point. His recognition of being White was dependent on having people from other racial groups present, such as when he played basketball with Black people.

Terri also focused on her individuality rather than her racial group membership. She was adamant that everyone could be racist and she resented that most of the blame was put on the White people.

All different races or people are racist against them. I don't think it's not necessarily all the Whites. All Whites are racist. I think African Americans and Asians are also racist towards other races. And I think most of the blame is put on the White people but I don't think it should be necessarily all the Whites' problem. African Americans seem to bring out that they've had to go through hell and all of that, especially the kids my age. They blame that on us. I wasn't there. I didn't do it. They're kinda racist towards the White people about what happened a long time ago. But I'm sure that there's still a lot of racism towards them. But it's still wrong to bring it, to put it onto people that aren't, cause they can be called a racist too.

Terri felt it was wrong that White people were held responsible for past racism because she, as an individual, was not at the event. Terri has not learned to recognize her group membership or the way in which she benefits as White person from the cumulative affects of racism. Furthermore, Terri provides an example of the ways in

which many White people respond when they feel guilty about a situation involving race. They report anger or discomfort when dissonance with their current worldview is presented and the anger or discomfort is most often directed at the source of the dissonance. In Terri's case, when she is confronted by the way in which Whites have historically treated others, she gets agitated with the Blacks who raise the point.

### Situational-2

Sit-2 thinkers typically have richer descriptions of situations. Once again, we typically see narratives framed in the individualistic ideology and in the reflections of the ways in which one is affected personally. Additionally, the students with more positive experiences with people of color and more developed conceptualization skills (CRT scores) should be better able to recognize their White group membership.

Like Terri, Mary was also angry that White people were made to feel responsible for the past. Her concern was about the way in which Native Americans were treating White people. Previously, Mary described an incident in which the local Native Americans were upset at the high school's choice of a mascot. She quickly expanded her description of events to be inclusive of her perceptions of the ways in which Native Americans treated Whites in general. Mary got angry when she described these situations.

I think they're still upset about what happened to their ancestors. I can't define it. They're just trying to get revenge cause they're still upset about the past. They've got a right to be mad at our ancestors, but I don't think they have a right to be mad at us personally. I don't think that's fair at all.

Mary did not define herself as a member of the White group. Rather, she wanted to be an individual. She did not realize that she continues to benefit as a White person because of past events. She said she never thought about her racial group membership because most people around her were also White. However, she had difficulty discussing why White people, in general, did not think about their race.

I can't answer, I don't know. (pause) I think because we don't face diversity. We don't face diversity at all so we don't think about own race.

Mary thought that Whites should be able to be proud of being White as evidenced by the following:

I think if every other group is allowed to be proud of their race, that's fine. White people should too. [But] it [White pride] would [look] like you're a member of like KKK. It would not go over well. (sigh) Of course you can be proud of your race but I mean it's not going to come across to the community that you're just being proud.

Mary wanted to believe that there was a difference between being proud and discriminating against others, but she concluded that White pride would be impossible because society (an external influence) would not accept it.

Like Mary, Jackie did not think about her race. She said she just went about her business. She felt that White people did not have to think about race as often as people from other racial groups because Whites are the majority. Jackie defined majority as a numerical term where the categories are Whites and non-Whites, in which Whites were compared to the sub-groups of non-Whites.



Probably because White is the majority race. Not if you put all the other races together because you can't classify Hispanics and Blacks and Asians all together. They're all separate. But then Whites you just classify all together. And so we are a majority compared to all the little subdivisions. They always say, I mean you hear about the problems with people who don't want to hire you because you are Hispanic or Black or wherever these attitudes come in and so when you're White you haven't encountered any of that.

Clearly, Jackie is making a parallel between being Hispanic, Black and Asian as one group in a way that she might explain Irish, English and Norwegian as one group of Whites. As such we see once again, the struggle that students have with race and ethnicity and the framework in which the two are defined.

Jackie said all of her college instructors were White. She was able to identify some of the losses a student of color might have as results of this situation.

If you're Black it probably would [matter]. I can just imagine how Black people feel growing up in a White high school. Why do they want to learn all about our background when they can't learn anything about their own? It's like the same thing in college. If all the teachers are White, then you just get the White thoughts and everything. It's probably nice to have the different perspectives.

However, she could not identify any losses she might have experienced by having only White instructors.

I've never thought about it really. I think it would be interesting. I've never had a Black teacher in all four years here. I don't think I've seen one to tell you the truth.

Again, it is evident that Jackie has not previously considered her White identity and the concrete benefits which this identity grants her in higher education.



Cathy provides a different experience in recognizing White identity, an experience still shaped by similar dynamics of not having to think about race. Cathy said she became aware of her White identity in kindergarten and that it was reinforced throughout school because all of the children around her were White. She mentioned her religious classes specifically. She said that because the bible did not mention people from other racial groups, she felt it helped contribute to her awareness of her own White identity.

I think it was when I entered school. I realized I was a White person. I always went to a private high school and the schools that I mentioned. There was always a religion class and there was not a lot of mention of Black people or Asian people because the bible doesn't refer to them a whole lot. And all my classmates were always White people so I think I identified then you know pre-school, kindergarten.

As was mentioned in Chapter 4, there is a shared assumption that unless racial descriptors are used, we are to assume the people mentioned are White. This is another example of that train of thought, in that since racial descriptors are not mentioned in the bible, Cathy assumes all the characters must be White once again, illustrating the privilege of whiteness.

Cathy also could not describe her potential losses from being in a predominantly White environment. She felt that she could not even imagine them because she was never in a situation from which to determine the differences.

I don't know. I've never really been, like my high school was all White. I've never really seen what it's like to be totally integrated or anything like that.

We are reminded again that the majority of students need to have "racial others" present to consider a situation to have racial implications.

Danielle's religious experiences reinforced the individualistic ideology because she was taught that God loved everyone and skin color did not matter. In spite of a fairly large Asian population at her school, she described her school as predominantly White. She said the lack of mixture was not a "big deal." She never realized the lack of diversity because everyone was an individual.

I was brought up that no one was better than anyone else. We're all equal. Some of us may make mistakes that are worse than other people's mistakes but we all are basically equal and we have the chance to live up to what we believe is right or whatever. So I don't remember ever being, like even as a child, ever being racist. Or ever wondering in grade school or anything. Where I grew up, where I went to grade school, I only remember 1 or 2 African American children in our whole school out of like 600 kids. I mean predominately White, 98% White, so there was not like a lot of mixture, but it was not a big deal to me. I mean I didn't even realize it.

Danielle named an aspect of White privilege in that she does not have to think about racial identity because the culture around her is set up to support her. The only time racial identity became an issue was when Black people were present.

In Chapter 4, Danielle described her thoughts about how, historically, evil Whites were racist to others. Her account further illustrates the individualistic ideology in the manner by which she envisions a sub-set of "bad White people" as the racist individuals. She described her anger and pain about the way in which Whites took Africans' freedom away. She said she "could not justify how one man had the

right to rule over another one." This historical-based construction of sub-set within the White group played out in real life when Danielle had a bad experience with a group of White boys from her high school. One day, after returning from a neighboring town in which she went to "hang out" with the Black men at the university, she found a burning cross on her friend's lawn.

I came back and there was a cross burning on her lawn and the police investigated it. I'm the one who found it and it was really upsetting to me cause that's not how I believe.

Danielle was consistent with her individualistic ideological beliefs. She reduced racism to a dualistic dynamic between Whites and people of color characterized by a series of interactions in which bad people hurt other people. She believed the sub-set of evil people, could be found in all racial groups. It is through this logic that Danielle negotiated the guilt that she may have experienced.

I have no control over what my ancestors did. I'm not happy with what they did but everyone in history in the world has been racist to some race or has tried to take over some country or has treated other humans in a wrong manner so everyone is guilty of it in history. I have no control over my ancestors and you know people who come from Black panthers, and have been racist towards White people have no control over that.

Finally, when asked what being White meant, Danielle said that she had privileges that she acquired through history and that understanding history allowed her to be strong and not feel guilty for what her ancestors did. When asked to give an example of privilege, Danielle had difficulty describing group privilege.



- I: You benefit from it, these privileges that you talk about  
P: Oh, (sigh) me as a person or my race?  
C Your race  
P: Yeah, my race does a lot.  
I: Is that separate from you  
P: Well, I'm part of my race so not really, but I try not to over indulge in any of those privileges that may be given to me.  
I: Like what?  
P: Like (sigh) I don't know, I can't even think of one, I don't know (pause) I can't. This is weird, usually I can think of something I can't really think of one. (sigh) I don't know, I just can't think.

In contrast, Holly was much clearer about the unearned benefits and privileges she has as a White person. This may be due in part to the number and quality of interactions she has with people of color. Because of her extended biracial family and the make-up of her high school, Holly had lots of interactions with people from other racial groups. She reflected on some of the costs and benefits she experiences in incidents with her family and friends. In the example below, she describes how counter-servers pay more attention to her than to her Black friends. In contrast, she describes the discomfort of the stares and looks she and her Black friends get when they are together.

We'd go downtown and almost everyday and go to Subway. When we were in a record store and we'd sit down there and people would come to me first before they'd say something to Sam [Black boy] or they would look at us weird, like we were going out or something or we were walking down the street, I mean, people would always look at us really weird because a Black and White person. I mean a lot of it you just ignore but after a while it, you don't want people to stare, and it gets on your nerves.



Holly said these types of situations frustrated her because the words and actions often hurt those people for whom she cared.

It's so frustrating because it doesn't affect me directly because I'm White but I just see how words hurt people so much and I guess maybe that's what made me more open minded too - just living with people from different cultures because then you feel... When my mom was married to Robert [Mexican step-father], Scott and Paul [Mexican step-brothers], they would always get in trouble all the time, because the police thought they were in gangs cause they would hang out. A lot of their friends were Black and they were Mexican so they would hang out together with friends. The police would always say if they got into a fight with a different group of people "it's gang related, they were in gangs."...That used to be so frustrating cause it like they don't walk around with bandannas and guns. So that always made me feel bad cause I know that deep down inside I am White and I'm like more benefited. I don't think it should be like that but until you get some people out of power...

Clearly, Holly recognizes the pain and consequences of racism for people of color and by extension, starts to recognize her own privilege.

Holly said she often felt bad or guilty about the benefits she receives as a White person. When asked how she managed that feeling, she said she relied on the fact that no one had a choice in who they were.

I get to thinking there is nothing I can do to change the fact that I'm White. I am who I am and I recognize that and I just try to experience everyone else's culture a little bit or something just so I know about how other people feel.

She identified remedies that included experiencing other cultures and interacting with lots of different people. Through her interactions with people of color, Holly has learned to be empathetic to their circumstances.

Larry also regretted the unequal group status which exists between Whites and other racial groups. He thought people from other racial groups had to think of their race more often than Whites did because they were constantly reminded that they were not a part of the norm. He defined being White as the norm in the United States:

"White everything is looked to as the standard and the norm." Larry said he was sad and ashamed that this was the standard.

It makes me feel sad to be a part of the White mainstream. I think that even that is stereotyped perhaps. But it's a White world, a White government, it's White everything. So it makes me feel ashamed to be a part of it and not being able to do, I can only do my part for myself and perhaps influence some others but for right now, I can't change any of that.

Larry's vision of a White world illustrates his understanding that to be White is to be privileged.

Like most other students, Larry felt that White people were hurt by racism. However, his description of the price that Whites pay was different from individuals at previous stages of Self-Knowledge and previous steps of CRT who describe "reverse racism" in that he said people of color may categorize the "good" White people with the "bad" ones and people like himself could get hurt in the process.

Maybe while I'm sitting here talking about how it's categorized as the White government and the White everything, that implies that all White people feel that there is not a need for change and perhaps other people look at that and can take out their anger on White people because they see it as a White system and therefore, White people are responsible and perhaps group all of them into the White main-stream government and take out their aggression or feeling on someone who doesn't agree with the system they're in.

On the surface this may sound very similar to the ways in which others have described being hurt by racism. It differs in that Larry mentions the systemic nature of racism and acknowledges that he is seen as White, reflective of the "system," even when he tries to fight racism. The difference in Larry's understanding is illustrated further below. When asked how he might respond in a situation like that, Larry said he would have to remember that you can't blame people of color for getting mad.

I think I'd have to realize that where other people come from, you can't blame them for having that view of other people and yet at the same time it only expressed the need there is for more interaction between all the groups and providing a place from where people can understand and know each other, so that kind of thing doesn't happen.

In the example above, Larry named group interaction as a remedy for better understanding and consequently, working towards dismantling racism.

In terms of describing what being White meant, most Sit-2 thinkers sound very much like the Sit-1 thinkers. They maintain that race, as it is defined by skin color, should not matter. They only think about their White identity when a "racial other" is present. It is difficult for them to see themselves as members of a group, particularly a group who benefits and has unearned privileges. Those two students who recognize the racial stratification between Whites and people of color talk (with limited vocabulary) about the ways in which they have empathy for members of other racial groups. While we see an increased understanding of racism in these students' ideas,



they still utilize Situational logic, which they demonstrate through their reliance on external influences to shape their behaviors and very little self-reflection.

Before I move onto the examples of Pattern thinking, it is important to pause here for a more critical analysis of the Situational-2 participants. As we consider the information presented in the analysis of Cluster 2, and the information presented in this cluster, the Sit-2 participants have been grouped into two sub-sets on the basis of the ways in which their Self-Knowledge skills are similar to and different from those skills demonstrated at by students coded at Sit-1 and Pat-1. Mary, Jackie, and Cathy are those students whose thinking most often reflects the Sit-1 thinking. Holly and Larry most often illustrate the thinking demonstrated by the Pat-1 thinkers. Danielle vacillates between these two, most often leaning towards the Sit-1 thinking. This sub-setting also reflects the dynamic interplay between the participants' conceptualization skills (See Tables 5.1 and 5.3) and their quality and quantity of interaction with people from different racial groups (See Table 5.2). Those students with positive quantity and quality of interactions with people of color are the same students with high conceptualization of racism skills and more refined Sit-2 Self-Knowledge skills. From here on the analysis of Sit-2 thinkers will be divided into these two sub-sets in which Mary, Jackie and Cathy will be grouped as early Sit-2 reflecting their position as in transition between Sit-1 and Sit-2. Holly and Larry will be identified as late Sit-2 reflecting their position as in transition between Sit-2 and Pat-1. Examples from Danielle will be grouped where they best fit in the specific context.



### Pattern-1

Pat-1 thinkers should be able to name White group membership and have some global internal standards by which they expect to act as White people. As identified in Cluster 1, the difficulty that often emerges is found in the recognition that one's internal standards often contradict the realities of the way in which Whites benefit in the racist society. The Pat-1 thinkers are the first to articulate internal reactions such as shame and guilt across a class of situations.

In the following example we return to Ted who has been discussing his reactions to the guilt which he feels is imposed upon him by external influences such as the Chicano students. Ted had a hard time self-ascribing his race because he maintained that he wanted to be seen as an individual. He did not want to assume the guilt imposed upon him by the Chicano students because he was not the person who hurt them. Rather he was committed to their causes to improve life for his wife and other Chicanos.

I like to help out their cause and stuff because I believe it's important. That doesn't mean that I'm trying to be a Chicano. The fact that they have had a lot of injustices done to them and stuff, that's not me and so I don't feel guilty. I'm not doing this out of guilt or anything. I'm trying to help out their cause, not so much them, because I believe their cause to be good.

When we discussed why he thought they wanted him to be guilty he first suggested that they were angry. When I ask a question about the privileges he received as a

White man, he concurs that this might also be part of the issue. However, he quickly countered this point by naming the pressures White men face too.

In our society I'm subject to the same White ideas and same ethics that everyone else is subject to. There is a lot of pressure on White males cause we're suppose to feel guilty for all these injustices and we're suppose to feel guilty for this and that. But we're supposed to be the one's who are privileged and if we don't make it big then there's something wrong with us - there's a lot of pressure.

Ted's reaction illustrates the tension Pat-1 thinkers feel between their internal standards and their conceptualization of racism inclusive of Whites unearned benefits and privileges. His responses demonstrate in an interesting transition in his development. His attitudes are almost paradoxical in that he can articulate concepts related to White group membership and unearned privileges, but he contradicts himself when he describes the way in which he, individually, is personally affected. He still has difficulty self-ascribing group membership in spite of his advanced conceptual understanding. This becomes more evident when he is asked if he is proud of being White. He said that he was proud of who he was as an individual, but that he did not know how to be proud of being a White man.

I'm proud of who I am as a person...it's not the same as being proud of your home land in Scotland where you can have your celebrations of your culture. And here, it's like what do you do to celebrate your culture? If you're a White man, you celebrate it by being the vice-president of a corporation.

Above, Ted conflates individual pride with group pride. This is indicative of the difficulties he experiences in defining himself.

Linda also illustrated Pat-1 thinking about White identity. Throughout the interview Linda described many transitions that happened over the last five years in her life. Below Linda reflects on some changes she has experienced in her relationships with people from other racial groups. She identifies a cost of being White and maintaining racism by explaining that White people who are closed-minded shut themselves off from people of color who could be important in their lives. As she reflects on her transitions, notice how the focus shifts more towards an inner-awareness.

And that's another part of my learning thing, from being close-minded in the past I might have missed out on meeting some really great people like I have in the last couple years. I've never been racist, but a part of it came out in Pittsburgh. But from my positive experiences I've had, I have friendships now that I couldn't imagine not going up to these people just cause of what they look like. It just makes me so sad that people will just close themselves off from so many people out there that could somehow contribute to their lives.

Again, we see, with Linda, an example of a student at Pat-1 who is beginning to articulate internal reactions.

### Summary

The Self-Knowledge stages provide insight into the ways in which the interviewees construct their interpretations of being White. All of the students at Sit-1 and early Sit-2 consider themselves individuals from the individualistic ideology in which all people are seen as individuals and all social group differences are perceived of as equal in social status. Whiteness is a skin color and is only recognized in

relationship to someone else had who has a different skin color. The students coded at these two positions lack interactions with people from other racial groups that might allow them to develop more varied perspectives. The students coded at late Sit-2 and Pat-1 demonstrate greater awareness of their White group membership but struggle when they reflect on the ways in which they, as individuals, are personally effected.

The emotional responses described by the participants appear to have some developmental implications. Those students who are coded at Sit-1 and early Sit-2 often express general discomfort when the messages they receive from the external influences with which they are most comfortable are challenged. This discomfort, often manifested as anger or frustration, is typically directed towards the external source of dissonance. Hence the students were angry at the Blacks or Native Americans who tried to make them take responsibility for the past. The students coded late Sit-2 and Pat-1 begin (often with limited vocabulary) to name internal responses indicative of a conscious or unconscious awareness of their internal standards. Guilt is associated with hurting someone else and shame describes the feeling one has when a personal standard or ideal is not achieved. Preoccupation with guilt and shame can limit both Whites in anti-racism work. This will be discussed in greater detail Chapter 6.



## General Beliefs About Other Racial Groups

How do Self-Knowledge skills appear to affect the way in which the interviewees developed general beliefs about others?

In Chapter 4, three theme clusters about the general beliefs the White students held were introduced. These theme clusters were derived from the ERII responses and included: (1) people of color have an unfair advantage over Whites, (2) I can understand how people of color feel because I have seen or faced discrimination, and (3) stereotypes are limiting. Only one interviewee talked about the ways in which he felt people from other racial groups had unfair advantages. All of the participants examined the second and third themes. They also added additional general beliefs including: (4) people from other racial groups blame Whites for their status in life, and (5) people from other racial groups could blend in if they chose to behave appropriately, like Whites.

### Situational-1

As indicated throughout this chapter, Sit-1 thinkers are expected to have limited abilities to construct and connect stories or incidents. Below Bobby demonstrates this scattered, unconnected organization as he tries to describe how he feels when he interacts with people of color.

Bobby said that he got along with the different people that he met. He held very basic stereotypes about Black people. He projected some of these beliefs onto

people from other racial groups in general. Specifically, he did not want to be blamed for the position others held in life.

I don't think I have a problem with people from other races. Unless they bring it on and I don't know why they would. They [might] think that I, being Caucasian, am responsible for like the slavery that was back then. I just think that's how Blacks perceive their discrimination.

Notice how he quickly moves from a general assumption about his ability to get along to anticipating why they won't like him. When asked to expand, he figured that Blacks believed he was responsible for slavery. He could not expand this any further and he did not have any personal experiences with which to support his assumptions.

Bobby felt that the people from other racial groups with whom he interacted had an advantage because they were used to being in situations where they were the numerical minority.

There weren't a lot of players in our leagues that were different. There were a couple. So them being of a minority, they probably were used to seeing or used to playing against Caucasians because there aren't that many in our league who are of different race. I don't think I approached the game any different.

Bobby had very few opportunities to interact with people from other racial groups. As a result he was often surprised or intrigued when he realized they reacted or responded differently than he would. Below, he describes a time that he went to the movies with a group of Black students.

I knew those girls and their friends and then we all went over there. I went to the movies with them - House Party 3. Just about the whole audience was African American. It was kinda funny to see how all they [act], I think they're different, like their reactions. It was fun to watch it. It was cool.

Bobby reflects a level of ignorance in which he is surprised that the students of color do not act in a manner in which he would. His tone was almost condescending when he discusses their behavior. It is from these limited interactions, on the basketball court and at the movies, and through the stereotypes presented in media that Bobby constructed his images about Blacks. This is similar to the idea presented in Chapter 4, in which students with limited interactions used chains of isolated events to construct evidence about people of color without critical analysis of the context in which the events took place.

As discussed previously, Terri also had limited interactions with people from other racial groups. She identified two sets of experiences: her friendship with a Black boy in junior high and her experiences with the Black boys in high school. She associated a lot of the commonly held stereotypes about Black youth with the boys in her high school, whom she called "gangsters." Terri said the gangsters were often blamed for things that they did not do. However, she felt that the gangsters got what they deserved because she believed that clothes and actions made it seem like they were wrong.

Terri often felt like she was the focus of the attention because of her race when she was with people from other racial groups. Earlier she described the incident in which the Black students threw gum at her. She assumed that the incident was racially motivated. She made the same assumption when she was a numerical minority in a



dining common with a group of Asians who were not speaking English. Below she describes her feelings:

I [felt like] I shouldn't be there. Just cause they're all talking in their language and it bothers me cause I don't know what they're saying and if they're saying anything about me. When I went to Europe, they'd look at you and they'd sit there talk and you wouldn't know if they were talking about you or not. And so that's what I think. It just bothers me.

The students at Sit-1 had very limited interactions with people from other racial groups upon which to base their ideas. The beliefs they mentioned about other racial groups were commonly held stereotypes. They did not recognize the complexities of the context in which their incidents took place and therefore had only general stereotypes to rely upon in order to sort contradictory information. Terri demonstrated this when she talked about the situation that surrounded the gangsters. Her stereotypes about the gangsters outweighed the contradictory belief that gangsters were blamed for things they did not deserve.

### Situational-2

The students who demonstrate early Sit-2 thinking are expected to also adhere to general stereotypes about others. As they gain more experiences with which to find contradictions, they will become better equipped to find the limitations of stereotypes that one would attribute to late Sit-2 thinking. Mary, Jackie and Cathy demonstrated some of the general beliefs held about people of color in the passages below.



Mary liked the university because people from other racial groups blended in more here than they do in other places. She felt that people from other racial groups preached about their race when they were fighting to preserve their identities. She did not experience this “preaching” a lot on campus because she treated everyone as an individual.

I: Why is race so important?

P: I think they want to preserve, they’re fighting to preserve themselves.

I: Was Katrina’s [Black girl friend] color important to her?

P: Yeah, I think so, at times, but when I was talking to her, on an individual level, she wasn’t preaching at me about her race or anything. We were just talking as friends.

Mary failed to acknowledge two points: (1) there are only a limited number of students of color on campus and (2) she did not have any close friends from other racial groups. On this campus, it was easy for her to spend her time without ever engaging with someone from another racial group; therefore, she had limited perspective and primarily stereotypes from which to determine how students of color acted on campus.

Similarly, Jackie relied on general stereotypes about people of color. Jackie developed very clear images Native Americans from her experiences growing up in Minnesota. She remembered the Native Americans she encountered as “drunken Indians.” She said she learned these ideas from her father and the ideas were validated when she went to the reservations. Jackie had a similar experience after she moved to her new town where her father displayed his prejudice about Mexicans and she learned

the stereotypes about them. However, at this point in her life, Jackie had friends who were Mexican and she began to realize the contradictions between the beliefs she was taught and the characteristics that her friends displayed.

Her generalizations based on race surfaced in concrete behaviors. In the quote that follows, Jackie tries to discuss how she used stereotypes of Mexicans. This is one of the first times she has discussed this. She started by making a generalization and continually narrows the scope of her statement. She is clearly discomforted by having to acknowledge this to me.

There are times if they're, that's the only thing I can say if they're, I guess it sounds so bad especially a group of Mexican guys, and you've had the incidents when they are throwing comments at you and you don't know what they are saying. Cause it's happened. Mexicans, it seems like they are always trying, they are just, some of them...Not like so much the Hispanic background, but it's like Mexican, you know there's, to an extent, I've been aware of it, but I always try to counter act it. I've had friends who are Mexican so. Well, (sigh) Cause it [the stereotype] is the first thing that pops into your head when you see them. It depends either, I don't, I mean I've never been like rude to people because they are Mexican. But there's been times when I avoid them.

When asked how she felt when she realized that she had done this, Jackie said she never really thought about it because she was not intentionally mean. Like most students, Jackie was not conscious of her behaviors.

I don't usually think about it too much cause I've never been mean to anybody. So I think if I was mean to somebody that would be bad.

Consequently, she rationalizes the effect by saying she was not trying to be mean. As an individual, she thinks she need only be responsible for her intent in spite of the effects of her actions on others.

Moving on, Cathy affords yet another example of a student at early Sit-2 thinking. She mentioned that while growing up, students from other racial groups fit in at school such that she could not tell that they were different. She said she only noticed racial stereotypes when they didn't fit into the images she had developed as a young person. Below, she discusses the way in which some White women dress to attract Black men. This is just one scenario that does not fit the memories she has about appropriate behavior by racial groups. Notice how her concern is less about the Black men who fit her images, but more with the White women who are stepping out the images she hold about them.

Sometimes I look around here and you'll probably know like if there's, sometimes the stereotypical way that Black people my age 18, dress now. Not all of them but a lot of them dress with like baggy pants and jeans down just over their butts and stuff. White folks do that too. It's the trend and stuff. But sometimes you see White girls trying to fit that image and then you see a Black guy and a White girl together with that style of clothing. Sometimes I think that maybe she dressed that way to get him as a Black. Maybe I watch too many talk shows. And so sometimes in that kind of scenario I think about it [race], but in a situation where everything just looks like what I'm used to seeing since I was three I never think anything about it.

As expected of a student at early Sit-2, Cathy adheres to general stereotypes about others, in this case, classic stereotypes about interracial dating.



Cathy also described a lesson that she remembered from childhood. She described a time when she had a Black rag doll with exaggerated stereotypical features. The doll was never put away unless a Black person was coming to her house. At that time, Cathy concluded that it was only Black people who could get offended by such things.

The family down the street from us, the man who is Black, his mother would baby-sit us when my mom had to go to work. She was Black, of course, and whenever she came over the doll would always be put away. Because she didn't want to offend the grandmother because of this doll because it was really exaggerated, But it was never put away when a White person came over. It was always just when a Black person would. (pause) I picked up on the fact that the race could offend but how White people couldn't be really be offended by making fun of the race. Because it's true that a White person could be offended by this really stereotypical looking Black doll, but my mom would never put it away for when a White person came over. So I kinda picked up on the fact that it was just the Black people we didn't want to offend even though it could have offended anybody.

Cathy presents a complex insight. As a child she thought only the Black people could be offended by the doll and now, she realizes that White people can be offended too.

Danielle's experiences were much different than the previous students, but she uses similar thinking to describe and discuss the situations. In spite of a number of Asians, Mexicans and Blacks, she said there were only a few people from other racial groups in her school. As explained, she only began to recognize racial differences when she started dating the Black men from the neighboring town.

There are some Asians and some Mexicans but a lot smaller number and the way it [prejudice] was never against any other racial groups except Blacks and I don't know really why that is. I don't think it wouldn't have been bad, it wouldn't have come up if us girls hadn't started dating the guys over here and gotten involved with them.



Like Jackie, Danielle implied that there is no prejudice unless it was displayed. In other words, she believes that people are only prejudiced when they demonstrate it through behaviors. She believes that none of the boys behaviors would have happened if the she and her friends did not date the Black boys. From the early Sit-2 perspective it is difficult for her to comprehend that stereotypes are attitudes that exist with or without the "racial other" present. Danielle romanticized about the roles Black women held in the civil rights movement. She demonstrates one of the ways in which White people feel sympathetic towards the Black "victims" who have overcome so much.

I think a lot of Black people are really strong because they had to live through really hard things, the 50's and 60's, the civil rights movement is one of my favorite periods of history. I just love it. Black women had to go through being women and leading a hard life. They had to go through all of society looking down on them. They lived through a lot. They were strong. I mean generally. And they worked hard and they raised their children well. And I admire them a lot for that. Maybe that's just the way that society portrays them now. But yeah, I admire them a lot. I think they've really overcome. I have to overcome sexism against me, but I'm White so it's not like I have to overcome so much racism. The one's now, I don't admire them so much. They just seem like the same as me and I see a lot of the guys and I don't think their mothers raised them well. But that's much more of not a racial view. I see a lot of White guys who's mothers didn't raise them well and I don't really admire them. It's not that I don't respect them, it's just that I don't admire them so much.

Danielle presents a complicated picture inclusive of images of gender, race and generational differences. While she tries to sort through this, she names that she may be influenced by the portraits of these women that are presented by society. She is less

enamored with the mothers of today's Black youth. She distinguished between "respect" and "admiration" by declaring that she respects them but since they're not successful at rearing their children, she does not admire them.

While Danielle mentions group identities in this quote, it is important to note, her thinking is grounded in the individualistic ideology. From this perspective, we can conclude that part of Danielle's struggle with the contemporary Black women is why they, as individuals, cannot be better parents. In other words, why can't they be more like the Black women of the civil rights era who overcame their challenges? This is formulative of a general argument put forth in society in which the victims of racism are blamed for their status. This level of logic lacks a critical analysis of the institutional and cultural factors that play a role in racism.

As indicated earlier, the late Sit-2 thinkers are expected to address the limitations of stereotypes. Holly learned about discrimination through her friendships with people from other racial groups. Earlier she described incidents in which (1) service workers would wait on her first and actually look to her for money before they acknowledged her Black friends and (2) people would yell things as Holly and her friends walked down the street together. This frustrated Holly.

It makes me so upset. I just get really frustrated. Plus I'm a real sentimental person. So I just start crying or when I hear people being mean, and I guess it's because it's not fair. Life's not fair. I've heard it a lot "life's not fair" but it's just so, so rude, cause it's like life is so hard, hard enough as it is, without people making it harder for other people. It's so hard to get up and go to class and try to get good grades in school and then to have somebody say racial terms to you all the time anyway.

Holly illustrates a distinct understanding of the limitations of racial stereotypes.

She also acknowledges the consequences of stereotypical thinking through her hesitations to use stereotypes. Holly did not want to be one of the people who hurt members of other racial groups. Below, Holly provides an example of the ways in which she tries to avoid using stereotypes. She consciously engages in self-talk as a way in which to manage stereotypes. She says that she does this so that she can avoid feeling frustrated.

I give people the benefit of the doubt or talk to them and let them try to see otherwise or see something else or try to catch myself on it. I try to not do it. I talk to myself a lot, even out loud. I sit in my room, I just talk to myself all the time. Like when you see a lot of Asians on campus, a lot of them have really nice cars. Not just Asians but anyone. It makes me so mad how their parents buy them all this stuff and here I work so hard for my money for college and stuff, but then I'm thinking and I have to stop and say "who knows?" Maybe they got in a car accident when they were younger, turned 18 and got a lot of money or maybe they worked really hard for their money or maybe you know their car was really cheap or something. Cause if I don't say that, it frustrates me

It was unclear if the frustration that Holly tried to reduce was due to her financial situations or her realization that she made generalizations about a group of people. She said it was both. She did not like to generalize and she was not happy that others were given money and expensive things when she had to work so hard.

Larry concurred with Holly that it must be hard to be a student of color on campus. He was certain that they felt discrimination on a daily basis. He assumed the situation must be similar at other predominantly White campuses. When asked about



his feelings regarding students of color who stayed together in groups, Larry said it was important for them to find their own groups in order to feel comfortable. This was a very different response than the one's provided by the students at Sit-1 and early Sit-2 who believed students of color segregated themselves and in fact, were talking about the White students.

Larry compared the students of color that he knows at the university with the few Black friends he knew in high school. He thought that the Blacks he met at the university were not like the Blacks with whom he went to high school because the university students were more like his old friends in California, who were into their "blackness."

African Americans that I met that grew up in California, in south LA, by where I lived are just different, most of them were in gangs or that type of related activity. They're more aware of their Blackness and the way they've been treated perhaps than the ones, Blacks that I grew up in my high school were not as into the gang thing. I'm not saying that's totally a Black issue but just the subtle differences like that. But of course, again where I was is more a middle-upper class. That could make difference too.

In the quote above, Larry introduced another important component related to race issues. Part of the reason that the high school students did not hangout in groups may have something to do with socio-economic backgrounds. Class differences are often associated with the disparity between races, especially Whites and Blacks.

The students at early Sit-2 managed their general beliefs in a fashion similar to those at Sit-1. They adhered to general stereotypes about other racial groups and



allowed this information to influence their reactions. They responded with fear of Blacks and anger at those students student who did not speak English. The two students at late Sit-2 were better able to see the limitations of stereotypes and consciously tried to engage in behaviors that allowed them to distinguish individual people.

### Pattern-1

Pat-1 thinkers are expected to name some of the ways in which stereotypes are limiting to Whites as well as to people of color. They are also expected to have some internal standards that lead them to not use stereotypes and to reflect some sense of internal dissonance (compunction) when they are not meeting these standards.

Below Ted describes his reaction to times in which he felt rejected by people of color. He said that when he was younger, he was friends with a Black boy, but as they got older, their friendship changed. By the time they got to high school, they barely spoke. He said that he did not like that he was made to feel uncomfortable around people who used to be his friends.

But back then we were just friends all the way through school up to junior high school. It wasn't any big deal that we were different. But it seemed that as we got into high school, some of my other friends (they were Black too) they started to hang out with just their Black friends. I don't know how come that happened or anything but then I started to realize they must feel more comfortable together or something because I didn't understand it. I remember I thought it was so weird, it was hard for me because I didn't understand how come I had to feel uncomfortable around these people who I had known my whole life.

He was also rejected by members of the Chicano community at the university. He wanted to help their cause, but he did not like that they tried to make him feel guilty or wanted him to feel bad or uncomfortable. Ted demonstrated some Pattern behaviors when he tries to manage his internal feelings by altering his behaviors. He did not like feeling rejected so he tried to model a different way to interact with others. Both he and his wife stayed engaged with the activities at the student center. Ted hopes others will see that he is not doing this because he wants to be a Chicano or because he is guilty. He is participating because he wants to make it better for his wife and future children.

Like most of the students, Linda describes grade school as a time in which color did not matter. The other students just "blended in."

They blended in with all the kids. It was never an issue. They were just like another kid. I remember them as being the 2 or 3 Black kids in the school but they never got picked on. They were like the other kids.

She reflected back on the origins of her "knowledge" about other groups and how it changed as she grew up. When she moved to Pittsburgh, she was confronted with all of the images she heard her father describe when she was younger. She saw Blacks on food stamps and welfare. It was also the first time she was a part of a numerical minority.

The main thing was probably in Pittsburgh. Because for the first time I was a minority in a lot of places. And I never have been before. So I got a taste of what it feels like. And like being in the grocery store, especially with Tom being half Korean, we'd get some good looks. And I think that's the first time I experienced it. I always turned everything around. I really worried about that. Really worried

Above, Linda describes, in very simple terms, her ability to take a situation and "turn it around" in a way that allows her to have some empathy. She "got a taste of what it feels like" to be a minority

The descriptions of general beliefs developed by Pat-1 thinkers were similar to those developed by the late Sit-2 thinkers. Ted and Linda were more inclined to not use stereotypes. Linda used her experience as a numerical minority to better understand the conditions which people of color experience. It is from this experience that she consciously commits to "turn things around" all the time to have a better perspective and empathy for people of color. This is very different than the "blame the victim" perspective Danielle constructed in that it allows for a critical analysis of multiple perspectives. One is forced, by taking a new perspective, to examine some of the underlying circumstances and cumulative effects of racism in a way that can be ignored when one lives by an individualistic ideology.

### Summary

The students at Sit-1 and early Sit-2 are more likely to create and rely on general stereotypes about people from other racial groups. They receive their information from external influences (negative interactions with people of color, media images, parents, etc.) and use their limited frames of reference as filters through which to negotiate their conflicting life experiences. The students at late Sit-2 and Pat-1 are

more likely to not rely on category based stereotypes. They often reflect back on their own experience with friends from other racial groups and interactions with other White people who act negatively toward people of color to notice the contradictions between the stereotypes they are taught and the characteristics they know in their friends. The Pat-1 students try to find ways in which to consistently manage their behaviors.

#### Identification of External Influence, Degree of Internal Agency, Stereotypes and Feelings

How do the Self-Knowledge skills appear to affect the way in which interviewees relied upon external influences and internal agency to guide their decisions and choices about recognizing and adhering to stereotypes?

#### Situational-1

Sit-1 thinkers are expected to rely entirely on external influences (i.e., societal norms, parents, peers, media, etc.) to shape and guide their attitudes and beliefs about others. They are more inclined to adhere to general stereotypes and express discomfort when the status quo, as shaped by racism, is challenged. Below, Bobby describes the role his parents and community, as external influences, hold which directly impact the decisions he makes. When discussing interracial dating, Bobby said his parents and members of the community were his primary concern.

I always think about what other people think. I shouldn't do that but I just think about the people I graduated with and my family and all the people in Colton. I shouldn't do that but I always think about what other people are



thinking. I can see them talking behind my back about marrying somebody from another race. I guess that's probably why I don't date a lot of people from a different race.

Bobby is juggling a paradox in which he has always relied on his parents and community to influence his decisions, and yet as it relates to interracial dating he says that he should not do it. He has conflicting priorities of pleasing himself and pleasing all the others who are important to him.

Like Bobby, Terri said her parents were very influential in her beliefs.

Additionally, she identifies the media as having an important role in shaping her beliefs.

This was particularly true about her beliefs about the gangsters. She couples together many pieces of evidence in a chain which she uses to construct, validate, and maintain her fear of the gangsters.

I think we learn it [fear] from our parents and also I think the statistics on crime scare me because a friend told me that a lot of the crimes are done by African Americans, and my brother got robbed by an African American. That puts fear into to me. And it's not necessarily that I would be afraid just because they're African American, but if they look dirty I just want to stay away. It's just not necessarily their color, but sometimes it is if they're in a big group

Terri said the external influences put fear into her. While she tries to narrow the fear of Blacks down to just the gangsters, but finally admits that it is actually groups of African Americans who scare her.

Her reliance on external influences is demonstrated a second time in the discussion on interracial dating. She would have to consider her mom's reactions, but she was less concerned about her friends because she thought they would be OK.

I'd think about what my mom would say and how she would react. I don't know that I would tell her right away just in case it didn't work out then she would sit there and scream and yell at me. That would probably be the only thing I would take into consideration. I'm sure my friends would be O.K. with it and if they weren't you know too bad.

The students at Sit-1 relied solely on external influences to shape their experiences. When they had competing external influences (parents and friends) they chose to follow the ones that would result in the least amount of dissonance in their worldviews. The feelings they related to the situations were either general discomfort with themselves or anger and fear of targeted group members. These feelings were triggered by the situation and the students assumed, as presented in Chapter 4, that this was the only way they could or should feel.

### Situational-2

The students coded at early Sit-2 will sound very similar to those students at Sit-1. They will appear to be more versed in stereotypes and to pay greater attention to external influences because they will construct their analysis of situations with limited interactions with people of color and with limited knowledge about race and racism. On the other hand, the students at late Sit-2 typically reflect an initial focus on

internal agency, moving towards a commitment against prejudice. However, this internal agency will be strongly influenced by a primary external influence (parent, teacher, religious structure, etc.) who is modeling anti-racism beliefs and actions.

Below, Mary describes two different situations in which external influences effected her. While in Costa Rica, as a high school exchange student, Mary was constantly approached for sex by older men. She endured this because she did not want to embarrass her host family or get in trouble. She lacked the capacity to recognize that she was not at fault or that she had options.

She described a second time in which she was influenced by her parents. She learned that the word "nigger" was wrong because her parents slapped her when she used it. This message was something that she carried with her and later, led her into an argument with a man in her dorm.

There's a guy upstairs, he's from Oklahoma, and he uses that word [nigger] freely and we got into a big fight over that cause he was talking about the [Black] girl down the hall. We got into a big fight about how he was saying that it was okay to use that word because they needed to earn their respect. It was bad. He didn't seem to think there was anything wrong with using that word. I told him he was wrong. I yelled at him. We were in here for an hour or two yelling back and forth. It still hasn't been resolved so we don't bring it up.

While Mary learned that it was bad to use "nigger," she did not learn why it was wrong, so she was ill-equipped to articulate reasoning that might persuade the young man to consider a different perspective. Rather they resolved the conflict by avoiding it.



Below Jackie talks about "political correctness" as not offending others. She starts to identify some internal standards by which she hoped to engage with others.

She said she wanted to be politically correct.

I don't want to offend people so I think about it [political correctness] in terms of that. But that's why you never know and some people don't worry about it and some people, it's just a big issue for them.

Jackie's concern for others differs only slightly from Bobby's reliance on external influences in that rather than maintain the status quo, she is working against it.

Therefore, she may need to reprioritized which external influences she is going to allow to be most influential her life.

As a result of her desire to be "politically correct," Jackie had a very difficult time constructing a definition of race because she did not want to name categories that might offend people. She did not like making judgments because they may be "perfectly nice people." She said being prejudiced was something she knew about but she was not proud of it.

I know they say that everybody is prejudiced to an extent, but you don't want to admit it. It's not something you'd be proud of. (laughs) "I'm prejudiced." I don't really consider myself prejudiced but then, when I say stuff, I'm like (laughs)...I guess that [guilt] is probably why I don't really think about it. Because I don't think of myself as better than anybody, it's, "those just aren't people that I would associate with" and that's kinda the way I do it. I just don't want to talk to them. But it doesn't mean that I'm better than them, just different. But that's not any better.

Jackie was just beginning to examine the contradictions between her internal beliefs and her own actions. She could not name her feelings, but when guilt was suggested



she agreed that was probably what she avoided. When asked about the value of recognizing her own prejudice, Jackie said it was good.

Then I think you can be more aware. That's the only way you can change your attitudes is to be aware but still, you still don't want to know.

Cathy's decision to be "politically correct" was similar to Jackie's in that she felt that political correctness was something you were supposed to be because others wanted to be called a specific term. The external influences she relied upon included her boyfriend and her family. When asked if her father teasing her Japanese boyfriend bothered her in any way, she said no because her boyfriend also teased her father.

No because my boyfriend was really funny about it. My parents, my dad is from Ireland, and my mom is too. They moved over here about 25 years ago. And my old boyfriend would just make fun of my dad being Irish. "What's for dinner tonight, oh potatoes" Silly stuff. So it was all really light hearted in my family.

Cathy said that she would not get involved with another interracial relationship if her family did not approve. She would not risk losing her family over a spouse.

I saw how my dad interacts with well, my parents, how they interacted with my boyfriend and stuff and as long as the situation doesn't make my family uncomfortable, cause I wouldn't be willing to risk losing my parents over a spouse because my family ties are really important to me. But as long as they accept it and as long as I would be happy then I think I'd be willing to [date interracial] but I don't think it matters what race.

While, the statement above has some indications of agency, we need only to return to the rest of Cathy's profile to understand that she relies upon external influences.

Below, Cathy talks about the external sources that taught her to be afraid of people

from other races. She based her feelings on the "evidence" she gathered from the media which reported on violence and gangs.

I admit that I see the violence in Seattle and a lot of it is gang violence and a lot of gangs are certain ethnicities and a lot of ethnicities are people of color. Whether it be Black or Mexicans or Samoans, and Asians and there are White people in those gangs but the majority of it is and that makes me mad. Just the fact that there is those gangs and stuff. And I realize that not all of that race are bad. But a lot of time when I hear of violence, I wonder what race it was or what gang is that?

Cathy named vague strategies for managing her anger and fear of the violence reported around her. She relied on her parents, or whomever would listen, as she discussed how it could be different. She named some possible strategies but in the end maintained the apathy invoked by the desensitizing nature of the way in which the news was reported.

If my parents are in the room and they're watching TV with me, I just say "It doesn't have to be this way." But I don't take action against my anger and anything. I'm not out killing the people who are killing, or I'm not out writing letters to my congressmen. I just let it go. I'm just like "oh well," I mean you know how the news makes everything so, I mean the anchor women say there was a drive by shooting today but they always still look happy. That's why they're anchor women and men. That kinda helps to make me think, "oh well," but if it was ever against my family I don't know what I would do.

This ability to be apathetic is a privilege for many White people because, as Cathy acknowledges, White people do not have to think about the consequences of violence as often as members of other racial groups.

Danielle said she used to rely on herself to make decisions but realized that those times in her life were "crazy times." Contrary to this assumed independence,

based on her narratives in the interviews, it appears that the majority of Danielle's earlier choices were made to intentionally aggravate her relationship with her mother. Now she finds direction for her life from her father and her religion. She described her father as the source of everything good in her.

Everything that I have good in me I have from him. This how I see it. I'm older so my dad and I are really close. There's just this connection, I can't imagine being closer to anyone in the world. We're just really tight. I talk to him about every day. I don't know what I'd do without him.

Danielle felt everyone in the world should just love one another. This description could lend itself to some internal standards, but more specifically, was grounded in her religion. She often found herself at odds with the external standards by which she led her life. She usually got very angry at people who were, in her mind, racist, yet she was supposed to love everyone.

I love people. I love everyone. I see strangers, people I have never met and I would give my life for them. I mean that's how I was raised. That you love everyone. Real love, I have love for humanity. And I just can't understand how someone could not like someone else just because they are different than them. Because they have a different skin color or they have a different hair but that's not right. I believe that God created us all equal. We all have differences. I mean no two people are alike even if they are of the same race. And it just makes me feel really, really angry, that people can't just love each other and love everyone and just get along.

She managed her anger through writing and discussions with her father in which she tried to rationalized why people did mean things.

I'll just sit and write about my feelings especially when I'm really upset. I think things through and I try to rationalize why people behave that way. What has caused them to do that? What is happening in their lives and their families that's



made them be that way? And I talk about it. Well, now that things are good between my father and I, we talk about everything again.

Danielle relied on general stereotypes about people to help guide her behaviors. One night she was at a dance sponsored by a Black fraternity. A Black man she was dancing with asked her if she was White. When she said yes, he turned and walked away. After being rejected by the man, she said she was furious.

However, she did not confront him because she thought he would hit her.

I wanted to go up to him and I wanted to say, "Who do you think you are talking to me like that? You have no right. I am not racist. I would not treat people like that. I love all people. Where do you get off being racist to me when you don't even know me?" That's what I wanted to say and then I was going to hit him. I mean I almost wished I would have gone up and said something. But it's probably a good thing that I didn't because if I hadn't hit him. He might have hit me anyway just for talking to him, he would have been like, "Oh you're a bitch and all this" And it just probably would not have been a good scene.

Danielle based her reactions on her perception that the Black man would be violent, a generally held stereotype about Black men. As expected, many students in early Sit-2 positions demonstrate a strong tendency to be guided by external influences.

The late Sit-2 thinkers are expected to rely on internal agency in certain situations. In the examples that follow Holly and Larry name the external influences they rely upon to help shape the internal standards with which they are starting to experiment. Holly relied on both external influences and internal agency to guide her actions and decisions. She set many of her personal standards by the way in which she perceived others, especially her mother, would want her to respond. She also relied



on her own intuitive sense when responding to situations. Below Holly talks about the way in which she responds to situations when she gets angry.

I get frustrated, keep it inside, cry, talk to a close friend or something. I'm not much of a revenge person. I did go to a Catholic school and whatever, I'm not like a total perfect person at all but just like my mom, the big thing she always said was to kill them with kindness. As much as I would want to say something, I guess I would be scared, or if I was a little intimidated, then I might not say anything but I guess I talk to people if I think it will make a difference, but I'm not gonna put myself in a weird situation to where I felt if I say this they're gonna kill me.

Holly named some of the considerations she makes to ensure her own safety before she acts on her newly established internal agency. For example, she said that she considers if the action will make a difference or the chances of her getting hurt.

Larry also relied on both external influences and internal agency. He set a personal standard of stopping others who used stereotypes and not using them himself. He learned this from his teachers and from his church. Below he describes a time in which he had to confront his father, a primary external influence, about a stereotype.

One thing that's always stuck in my mind is a stereotype that I heard my dad say when watching a football game. This is something about college Black students, I can't even remember what exactly happened, but he made a reference that all the Black kids probably didn't have dads anyway and they were all poor or something like that. And I said "why would you say that?" I just questioned that. I can't even remember exactly what happened. I just remember the incident. It just made me feel a little bit weird, a little awkward. It's just an ignorant thing to say so perhaps that's why I try to break the stereotypes. I think it's just a sign of ignorance and perhaps fear maybe.

He said he experienced similar awkward feelings each time someone told a racist joke or made a derogatory remark. While responding to situations like these usually made

him feel better, he did not think it was always the most appropriate action. He relied on internal dialogue to help determine the most appropriate action.

If you're not doing anything to stop it, you're not really part of the solution is what I think, [but], sometimes I say to myself that I don't want to make a bigger issue out of it than it is. At the same time I might say something later on.

Above, Larry illustrates the way in which he chooses his responses. This is similar to the self-talk which Holly described.

Those students coded at early Sit-2 relied almost exclusively on external influences (parents, societal norms, peers, stereotypes of others, etc.) to guide their behaviors. Students coded at late Sit-2 demonstrated some recognition of internal agency by naming global personal standards such as "kill them with kindness" and "if you're not part of the solution, you're part of the problem." These standards were originally introduced by external influences such as teachers, religious values, and parents. Late Sit-2 thinkers experimented with implementing internal standards in situations where they could succeed. They named the conditions under which they were willing to take the risk of fighting against racism.

#### Pattern-1

While late Sit-2 thinkers experimented with new behaviors, Pat-1 thinkers are expected to apply these new standards and behaviors across situations. The impetus for this application typically comes from greater recognition of the inconsistencies

between personal standards and the reactions a person experiences when s/he does not achieve his or her personal standards. In other words, Pat-1 thinkers will be more in tune to the guilt and shame they experience over a class of situations in which they don't meet a personal standard and will experiment with new behaviors to help avoid these feelings.

Ted relied on both external influences and internal agency. He used other people, his religion and himself to guide his actions. Previously, he said that he was made to feel uncomfortable by the Black students in his high school. In this situation, he blamed others for his reactions. He had similar understandings of the way in which he presumed that the Chicano student group and his teachers were trying to make him feel guilty because he was White. While he resisted these external influences, he places greater priority on the influence he allowed his religion to hold in his life.

It's what you learn from the bible and just because a lot of people get a political awakening in college. It's a neat thing for me because I never paid attention to the kind of laws they try to pass in the states and federal government. So it's just been interesting for me. It's one thing that I just decided to learn up on and find out and I've pretty much learned everything, not everything but a lot of things about it. Why did I do it? Just because it was interesting to me and then the more I found out about it the more I got interested.

In the statement above Ted named himself as the most important influence. Below, we hear Ted identify an internal standard that he developed from his wish to be "Christ like."



I wish I could be pretty much just like Christ. The way he moves, the way he treated people, and what I read about. It's a neat thing to be able to have a perfect love for everyone. Unconditional love. I wish, I didn't have to know stereotypes. It would save friendships.

This sounds very much like Danielle and Larry, both of whom relied on religion to guide them. The difference is that Ted tries to be intentional rather than just assuming God will be in charge. Below, Ted continues his conversation about the way in which he tries to implement his standard. He is not conscious of the specific behaviors in which he engages because he has never considered them before.

I try not to use [stereotypes], I try to be careful with them cause they really can make you feel silly sometimes and I'm sure they can be harmful to others as well as yourself. In a lot of situations I try not to use them. Oh gosh, I don't know half the time I end up using it and some times I'll be in the right frame of mind to control it. Just think about it. Do I know how I do it? No, (pause) I don't have the answer. I can't explain it. I've never thought about it before. (pause) It's just after you've talked to somebody a little bit and understand who they are but until then the stereotypes do play a role.

Linda described how, in her past, she relied primarily on external influences like her father and ex-fiancee. Now, she relies more on herself as she learns to "turn things around" to gain perspective.

I turn almost every situation around. A situation where either I don't understand or it confuses me. And it clears it up just like that. I put myself in other people's shoes all the time and I'm like oh that's why she's a bitch today, or whatever or that's why he's that or he grew up on a farm, in a very rural community, that's why he has a closed mind. I'm not going to have a problem with it, it's not his fault. So I do that all the time. I guess it's always been my nature. I learned very early on not to be hypocritical, because I would say blah, blah, blah you can't do that and then it would happen to me and I would feel really stupid. (laughs) You never know until you've been there, basically. That's what it is all about.



Turning things around allowed Linda to better understand situations in which others did not act appropriately. Through this process, she avoided passing judgment on others and she avoided the uncomfortable position of feeling like a hypocrite. This assists her to better manage her use of stereotypes and to better engage with others across situations. Notice how she is beginning to focus internally as she chooses to modify her behavior or responses to help manage her reactions (to avoid hypocrisy).

### Summary

The students coded at Sit-1 and early Sit-2 rely entirely on external influences. In most cases, they could not imagine reacting in any way but the way in which they actually react. When there are competing external influences, most Sit-1 and early Sit-2 thinkers prioritized the influences and respond to the one which best supports their current worldview. This means they consciously and unconsciously chose external influences that allow and, in many cases, encourage them to adhere to stereotypical thinking which results in a maintenance of the status quo in the racist society.

A significant difference between early Sit-2 and the late Sit-2 thinkers is that late Sit-2 thinkers reprioritized who or what is influential in their lives and followed the example of external influences who work against racism. As a result, they are able to develop and name internal standards, modeled by their external influences, that work against racism. The late Sit-2 thinkers are inconsistent in their application of these

standards, often identifying the level of risk or the conditions under which they will try the new behaviors. While the impetus for changed behaviors may come from an internal agency, the focus of their responses is still external, in that they often want to fix things for the other racial groups.

At Pat-1, the students are more consistent in modifying their behaviors to accommodate their internal standards. While the primary focus of their new behaviors is to fix things for others, they hint at an internal focus. In Linda's example, part of the reason she "turned things around" is so she could avoid feeling like a hypocrite.

#### Anecdotes of Racial Interactions Involved in Racism

How do the levels of ability to conceptualize racism appear to affect the way in which interviewees defined the relationships involved in their definitions of racism?

Four different types of interactions were identified in the students' definitions of racism on the CRT protocols. These included interactions that were: (1) between individuals, (2) between groups of people, (3) between majority and minority status groups, and (4) between Whites and people of color. While all of the types of interactions were named, most interviewees discussed the individual to individual interactions in their functional definitions of racism. In reference to functional and optimal definitions, it is important to remember that these students were selected from a sociology class that focused on social problems such as racism. While the class was

not intended to be an experiential intervention, the students were able to optimally define racism by using the class definition. Below we hear them discuss the various ways in which they compare their own definition with the one offered in class.

### Step-1 and Step-1.5

All of the students at Steps-1 and 1.5 typically identify racism as occurring in interactions between individuals. Many of the students have also provided indications that they adhere to the individualist ideology in which they see everyone as individuals, perceive of all social group differences as equal in status and will confound racism with prejudice or discrimination. Throughout the previous theme clusters, Bobby defined racism as discrimination against other people because they are the opposite race. He said there was no limit to who could be racist. Below we hear him struggle with the differences between discrimination and racism.

I don't think there's much of a difference. (pause) I guess racism applies more to race whereas discrimination probably goes against other areas maybe like sex or age or something like that.

In the passage above, Bobby defines racism and discrimination as the same. He defines the difference between the two as the subject upon which the behavior or action is focused.

Terri shares Bobby's definition that every person could be racist, but she acknowledged that sociology had a definition of racism that was different than her own.

The sociology definition I think was something about power, that you could only be racist if you had power. But I mean I can I see racism on both side.

From her adherence to the ideological perspective, we can conclude that Terri probably disagrees with the power paradigm presented in her sociology class and that she interpreted social power as an individual being more powerful than another. Therefore, she continued to identify racism on "both sides."

Mary did not remember the sociological definition of power, but she noted a contradiction between her definition of racism and the way in which "society" might define racism. Mary initially said that there was a limit to who could be racist because White men cannot be discriminated against.

Cause White men, you can't really discriminate against them based on their race. I think it's pretty one sided.

When asked if Black people or Native Americans could be racist, Mary contradicted her previous response. She said that they can be racist, but that society would not identify it as racism.

They can [be racist], but I don't think society would call it racism. It would be just considered anger because of the way we've treated them. It would be considered appropriate.

I think so, yeah. We had a big thing in our community. We're the Issacwa Indians, our high school. So we had a big issue with that. We would, we got



into a large community debated with the Native Americans around the area. And they had a lot of vengeance against us White people who had taken over their land. I don't understand why they are still bringing that up from the past. I wasn't around then.

It appears that Mary is also responding from within the individualistic ideology. We see evidence of this in her discomfort expressed in the second quote in which she cannot understand the Native Americans concerns with the past. She says, "I don't understand why they are still bringing that up from the past. I wasn't around then." Since she relied (at least functionally) on the individualistic ideology, it was difficult for her to understand the perspective that a group of people (especially Whites) needed to be accountable for past events.

Jackie thought that anyone could be racist. She described power as the ability to "build your race up, like power over others." She struggled with the differences between racism and discrimination.

I think anybody can be racist. It's not like restrictive but people said you can't be racist within your own group. Racism has to do with...I don't think discrimination necessary has to do with because you're Black. I think I can discriminate against another White person but I can't be racist against that person. That's kinda the way I feel. So I think you can discriminate against somebody within your own racial group.

It appears that Jackie is starting to develop a conceptual framework for the relationship between racism and discrimination. This is a difficult task because she does not have clear definitions for the terms. She is using discrimination to define a reciprocal actions between people and racism as a systemic relationship. This is a

complex construct that is beyond or above the developmental stage reflective of the way in which she has presented herself. However, this should serve as an important reminder of the fluid nature of identity and the fact that the interview process may have pulled for more optimal performance than she would functionally present.

### Step-2 and Step-2.5

Students at Step-2 and 2.5 can be expected to add greater complexity to their definitions of racism. For example, they may include greater awareness of group identities, and some indication of White power. The Step-2 and 2.5 thinkers increase the multiplicity of variables in their definitions while still maintaining a simple framework in which to manage the interrelatedness of the variables from which to commit to a definition.

Cathy defined racism as interactions between groups. She thought that there was no limit to who could be racist. However, she acknowledged that some people think racism has to do with majority/minority status.

Sometimes people say it's the majority of one color having negative values or whatever against another. I think that the minority can also be racist against the majority. Personally, if I was the minority, maybe not in today's time but back then when slavery was going on, or the 50's or 40's when all the segregation and everything was going on if I was a Black person I would almost hate the White man. I would be really racist against the White people and I think they had a right to. Sometimes you hear there's a Black, African American, Black Miss American pageants or sometimes schools have Black proms. Sometimes I think that's a little racist because if there was ever European American miss pageant or a White only prom, that's racist. So why isn't it racist the other way? (giggles) Well, I'm just trying to think if we, White people did that then the Blacks look at that and it would be racist. Yet

they can go and do it themselves. So I guess in a way, yeah, it just makes me think.

While Cathy has acknowledged groups of people, she maintains that differences among racial groups are of equal status, so she also describes simple reciprocal actions between groups of individuals. Cathy does not fully grasp the necessity of a Black beauty pageant because she sees social groups as equal in status. Therefore, she believes that a Black beauty pageant is a special privilege or a way in which to segregate herself and other Whites from Blacks. She fails to recognize that most of the activities in which she participates are primarily all White experiences.

Danielle also perceived of racism as interactions between groups of individuals in which the social group differences among racial groups are equal in status. Therefore, she also believed that anyone could be racist.

I think of it as White vs. Black because in America that is what we have seen as the majority. First White people came and they were racist, well maybe not racist, but they were racist, and discriminative and prejudiced to American Indians and then to Black people and then to Japanese and Chinese and Oriental people during WWII. I mean, it's definitely a White thing because we were in war with German people and Irish people but did they do anything with German Americans or Irish American people. No, they didn't. It was just because they could see the difference that they could pick people out to be discriminate towards. How do you pick out someone who is German or Italian or both of them? How do you pick someone out who is either? They were really awful. They took away people's houses and...maybe not as bad as they were to Black people before. They modernized it a little bit.

As discussed earlier, Danielle's beliefs are all firmly rooted in her religion. When asked if the behaviors exhibited by people of color were different than the behaviors by



Whites, she said that people use race as an excuse. A person should be judged by their personality not their skin color and that ultimately, only God could enact revenge.

I think people try too much to talk about outside influences and things like that. It's you, who you are personally, your personality. And I think people like use [race] as an excuse.

I think they [Black people] are being discriminating. I mean first of all I personally don't believe in retaliation. Vengeance belongs to God not anyone else.

The students at Step-2 and 2.5 used "discrimination" and "racism" interchangeably. However, Cathy and Danielle tried to develop a framework for the relationship between the terms. Racism was used most often in relation to group identity and discrimination was used to define reciprocal relationships between individuals. Both students began to acknowledge group membership, the limitation being that they perceived as differences among racial groups to be of equal status. This did not allow for an accurate depiction of social power or minority / majority status.

### Step-3 and Step-3.5

The students at Step 3 and 3.5 are expected to have clear definitions of racism and discrimination and a framework for the relationship between the terms. They are also expected to be able to incorporate some of the components of the definitions introduced at Step 2 and 2.5 into more complex definition.



Linda originally defined racism as occurring in interactions between individuals in which one used stereotypes to group people into categories. From her perspective, anyone could be racist. She said that she had a problem with the definition of power provided in class. She compared the sociological definition of power with her view of individuals who are supported by institutional power. From her perspective, individuals achieved positions of power in institutions.

I would have a problem with that but then you're talking more about institutionalized racism where that makes sense. But everyone has their prejudices and the problem comes in if you're in a position of power. That's where it really causes a problem. Unfortunately, we can't hire leaders and say, "we want you to be objective on that" You're never going to know so that's unfortunately where a lot of problems happen.

Above, we see that Linda defined a framework for the terms, in which everyone can have prejudice. However, racism requires the support of institutional power.

Holly initially defined racism as interactions between individuals based on ideas and actions. She said her definition was different from the "real definition" which had to do with power. As she continued, she redefined racism, adjusting for group membership inclusive of power and redefined discrimination as interactions on a personal level.

I think anybody can be a racist by my definition. I know it has a lot to do with power and like Sam has even wrote articles about Black people cannot be racist because they don't have the institutional power to be racist. But I still believe that reverse racism happens...I guess that would just be the main thing - who has more power, because anybody can discriminate against anybody but the people who are in power, predominantly Whites, so they can more easily discriminate against Mexicans, Blacks more easily than the minority can

discriminate against them cause they're in more abundance or something. So yeah, I guess what I was saying was more about discrimination.

Holly and Linda share a similar understanding of institutional racism which involves racial group membership and social power as separate from prejudice and discrimination which involves individuals who personally interact with each other. Each also acknowledged that, at the institutional level, Whites have more access to power than people of color.

Larry had difficulty defining the framework he used to define discrimination and racism. He originally said anyone could use stereotypes or make judgments about others. The difference between discrimination and racism was a personal choice to use power that they acquired because of the position they held.

I'm not really sure. I guess you could hold stereotypes in your mind about people and make judgments about people and yet, not use your power to effect others because of that. You could still hold certain ideas and still be ignorant about other people and yet not effect the way they live.

From this perspective, Larry reduced social power to something that an individual can have and choose to act upon. Interestingly, this definition of racism is very different from the information provided throughout the rest of the Larry's profile. From his responses to the other questions, Larry appears to have a much more complex understanding of racism inclusive of White, as the dominant racial group. Through the inconsistencies we see in Larry's profile, we are reminded of the developmental inconsistencies students project.

Initially, each student provided a functional definition of racism, defined as reciprocal interactions between individuals or groups of individuals. With some prompting, the students coded at Step-3 and 3.5 clarified their definitions of racism, prejudice, and discrimination. Two of the students introduced institutional racism, indicative of a multi-level systemic understanding of racism. It was necessary for them to balance group identity (necessary for social power) and individual identity (in which one could be personally affected by "reverse racism") in order to achieve this level of complexity.

#### Step 4.5

At Step-4 and above participants should be able to consistently articulate the systemic nature of racism in which Whites are the dominant group and have social power over people of color. Below, we see Ted grapple with this definition of racism.

While Ted originally defined racism as prejudging someone based on skin color, he later discussed how power was a social construction in which groups assumed superiority or majority status. He presented a historical analysis of the way in which Whites, in the United States, have acquired and maintained power.

In the United States, we feel like we are superior in a lot of ways to the Black race because of the fact that they were enslaved by us at one time. We are superior to the Mexican race because we conquered them and we're also the majority, the Whites here in the United States. When you're the majority and in the past conquering or subjugating people to you, I think there's a feeling of superiority that develops as far as just historically. The White person being the majority has a greater ability to be racist and discriminating in that way because, just like with the Mexicans they started out just being the



majority of farm laborers and stuff. Eventually had the power taken out of their hands by the majority and so they ended up losing their lands and working for the people and wages were really low. It happens a lot of the time.

Above, Ted describes the way in which social power supports the White group in such a way that individuals within the group can just assume their superiority as a result of the cumulative effect of historical events. The counter is also true, the targeted group, as a result of being subjugated, learn to give up power. This truly is reflective of the systemic nature of racism.

### Summary

All of the students identified interactions between individuals or groups as the functional way in which they define racism. A person needs to be able to hold a group perspective, inclusive of an awareness of unequal status, in order to comprehend social power. The transition to this level of definition is first introduced by those coded at Step-2 and 2.5 who present interrelated variables in the definition of racism but lacked a framework from which to coordinate them.

Those students coded at Step 3 and 3.5 are the first to introduce frameworks of the relationship between prejudice, discrimination and racism. Racism requires institutional support while prejudice and discrimination can be experienced personally.

Ted described racism as a socially constructed method of controlling people. Through his historical analysis, the cumulative effects of subjugation and domination



were presented. In the United States, this results in Whites as the dominant group and people of color as the targeted groups.

### Perspectives on Racism

How do the levels of ability to conceptualize racism appear to affect the way in which interviewees describe the worst racist actions and the best, most non-racist actions?

During the interviews, participants were asked to construct continuum defined at one end by the worst racist actions and at the other end by the most non-racist actions or their visions of a better world. The continuum were compared for similarities and differences. A scale was constructed by summarizing their descriptions of the worst and best actions (See Table 4.5 in the Summary, p268).

All of the students' descriptions of the worst racist actions were grouped under three themes: (1) Repulsion, in which people of color are seen as defective and anything is justified to eliminate them, (2) Pity, in which Whites consciously and unconsciously presume that they, themselves are normal and feel bad because people of color cannot be normal too, and (3) Tolerance, in which it is acknowledged that people of color are here and Whites need to get used to them and their ways. The students' depictions of the worst racist actions reflected their personal experiences and understanding of history. There does not appear to be a connection between the students' ability to conceptualize racism and their images of the worst racist actions.

The descriptions of the best, most non-racist actions covered a much broader spectrum. Five themes were identified: (1) Acceptance, in which the individualistic ideology functions to support a "color-blind" philosophy, denying the unequal status of held by other racial groups, (2) Support, in which group membership is recognized and the goal becomes meeting legislative requirements; (4) Admiration, in which the unequal status among racial groups is acknowledged and Whites begin to look at the role they play in maintaining racism, (5) Appreciation, where people of color are recognized as valuable contributors to society and White people are working with them to end racism and (6) Empowerment, in which all racial groups are seen as indispensable for the well being of the entire society. The students' ability to conceptualize racism (as reflected through their CRT scores) appears to be related to the visions they have of a non-racist society. To illustrate this, the students' descriptions of the most non-racist actions will be examined next.

### Step-1 and Step 1.5

As identified in this chapter, students coded at Step-1 and 1.5 relied entirely on the individualistic ideology in which all people are seen as individuals and all social group differences are perceived of as equal in social status. These students are expected to have a vision of non-racist actions where all people get along. They think this can only be achieved when we don't see or act on skin color. Below, Bobby,

Terri and Mary describe different forms of Acceptance and Jackie describes Tolerance as their respective visions.

Bobby described the most non-racist action as color blind interactions. He suggested that the way to interact with people from other racial groups was to treat them as "normal," or like a white person.

(pause) The best way we can act between races is just throw all colors aside and treat them like normal people. Follow the golden rule and treat as or treat them the way you'd want people to treat you. That's how I would. If we want a better nation or world, it's the only way.

Terri's vision of the most non-racist action included being friends based on personality, not race or color. When asked if she meant color-blind, she said no. She thought that learning about other cultures was interesting, although she hoped that people would not care about color.

To be friends with everyone not necessarily everyone but not determining on their race if you like the personality then hey, you can be friends with them. I mean it's hard to be totally color blind. And it's kinda neat to learn about different cultures. That would be nice if everyone didn't really care about the different colors. I mean that's how it was in junior high.

Mary described the most non-racist action as treating everyone equally and not judging others based on race. When asked if she thought it would be possible, Mary expressed her hope that she could overcome what she had been taught and just respect everyone as humans.

I hope that I will treat everybody the same. I hope that I would not just judge somebody based on their color...(pause) (sigh) I just hope in my heart that I would have respect for any human being, to be unbiased and talk to them.



Of all the students, Jackie had the most pessimistic vision of non-racist actions. She said the best we can do is tolerate each other and co-exist.

Not all of the races are going to get along cause you're going to have racism, no matter what. But I suppose if you can co-exist without being hostile. It doesn't mean that you have necessarily to go out and be buddy-buddy with everybody of different race, but I mean there's no reason to go and beat them up or say derogatory things to them. So I suppose that's just it, as long as if you can just co-exist. That'd be relatively positive to me.

The students at Step-1 and 1.5 described Acceptance and Tolerance as the basis of their visions of non-racist behaviors. These are very limited visions because they still imply that Whites are superior. Consciously and unconsciously, the students display this awareness of White superiority through their descriptions of White as normal and their affirmation that people of color should not be harmed just because "they do not fit in."

#### Step-2 and Step-2.5

The students coded at Step-2 and 2.5 also relied on the individualistic ideology to shape their definitions of racism. As reflected in Cluster 6, Cathy and Jackie both named group membership as important components in their definitions, but they have not fully incorporated the unequal status among racial groups at a societal level. Therefore, they are expected to have visions of non-racist actions limited to individual

interactions, very similar to those presented by the students coded at Step-1 and 1.5.

In the passages below, Cathy and Jackie describe their visions of non-racist actions.

Cathy shared Terri's idea that color-blindness was not a goal of non-racist actions because culture is important.

By being color blind you're ignoring their roots. All my friends know that I am Irish and I am English, I am half and half. All my friends know that's important to me. Just as if I have a Japanese friend and that is important to them and I'll respect that. But their color shouldn't be an issue I don't think. But I think if you're color blind though you're ignoring their roots.

Like Terri, Cathy equates skin color (race) with culture (ethnicity). This is another example of the ways in which race and ethnicity are confounded. Cathy defines the most non-racist actions as being friends in a fashion that race did not matter.

I think befriending a person of another race and not even having their race be an issue in your relationship at all. That's on a personal level. Ideally I think of it never having to be an issue. Sometimes there were cases where in the past it wasn't an issue but it should have been. But you know say for the U.S., if it never had to be an issue, if everything was just perfect then that would be the most non-racist thing but I doubt that will be possible.

In the quote above, Cathy indicates that there is more than just individual actions involved in creating a non-racist society. Her reference to cases where race should have mattered are tied to her understanding of the most racist actions involve keeping people from jobs just because of skin color. She implies that Support, in the form of legal compliance, is a necessary non-racist action.

As presented throughout the chapter, Danielle defines most of her interactions through the strict expectations put forth in her religion. She described the most non-racist actions as unconditional love, as modeled by her version of God.

Where everyone loves everyone, people don't think about you're different than me so I'm better than you. I think it goes a lot further beyond actions and goes down to your attitudes and your beliefs. And that has to do with your family and the way you were raised.

Danielle said that her goal was to be color blind because God is color-blind. While, she acknowledged that she sees color, she declined to acknowledge that she takes actions based on her beliefs about people of color. Notice the shift in reasoning Danielle pursues in response to this set of questions. Previously she relied entirely in terms of a historical perspective and below she uses a biological argument.

I have brown hair and you have red hair and that's different, I have brown eyes and you have blue eyes but that doesn't mean that you are better than me or I am better than you. It just means that we're different. So just because I notice it, doesn't mean that I think that I am better or anything like that. Obviously you're going to see color and you're going to know it. It's just that you're not going to take it into account that this person is Black so that means that they do this and they do that. I just live in this very realistic world and yes, there are differences. There are always going to be. No one is a like. We have genes. They make us different. And that's just fine. That's a good thing and I wouldn't want anyone to be like me.

The students coded at Step-2 and Step-2.5 shared similar visions with the students coded at Step-1 and 1.5. Because they adhere to the individual ideology, Cathy and Danielle's visions were limited to images that involved individual actions or limited acknowledgment of group membership.

### Step-3 and Step 3.5

The students coded at Step-3 and 3.5 are expected to present frameworks to manage the interrelated variables that are identified at Step-2 and 2.5. Sometimes the student are overwhelmed by the pervasiveness of racism and they have a hard time constructing positive visions. Others will be driven with passion and hope and have lots of suggestions for solutions.

As introduced in Chapter 4, Linda was most upset about the covert attitudes and behaviors people have. She described the ways in which people put on "fronts" and interact with people of color. Her concern was with the White people who have negative attitudes and beliefs which they may act on later. Below Linda discusses her pessimism. She does not have a vision of a non-racist society because she believes it is only going to get worse.

I'm really pessimistic and sad about that right now. So I don't know if I can really comment. I'm having a real hard time internally with that. Especially when I talk to my friend Anthony. He says it's going to get worse. That makes me very, very, very upset. Cause I can't understand why it still happens. My theory is it all starts in the home. It all starts from your parents and your family. That's where it all starts and I guess you'd have to somehow make changes there.

While Linda is pessimistic, she does have some ideas for resolutions. She believes we need to intervene with children and not allow parents to teach them racist ideas at home.



Holly described Admiration, a vision in which the difficulties that people from other racial groups face are recognized and remedied. This is different from Support because it includes a focus on the roles that White people have and the changes they need to make to end racism. She provided examples from both her own life and examples of changes necessary in the larger culture.

The best the non-racist thing I can think of would just be to just have people treated equally. I think it could really happen but it just must be down the road, a long ways away. To go into a store with an Asian, and a Hispanic, and a Chicano and a Black person and a White person and not always have the White person get helped first, cause if I walk in, they think that, but really on any given day Sam could have a lot more money than I could. For people not to assume, to break down the stereotypes. That would be the best thing I guess. If we could just see that happen. See more people in power that are not White, like when Clarence Thomas was appointed to the Senate, actually a Black person on the Senate. It's like cool. Just to see that more often. It's nice to see principals, and teachers, not just always White, and to see more professional people. I think that it is getting better with a lot more people in college, not only on scholarships, but then they can get jobs, people of all different races, not just White and get out there in the market place too, so people can break down the stereotypes. When you can be in contact with more people than just the people you grew up with and your family, that's what really helps just cause once you talk to someone, and you realize it's not what you thought, your views change and so if more people have that experience more views will be changed.

Larry described Appreciation, in which he envisions a world where people were not only accepted, but were valued for their differences and were willing to work against racism. Larry modeled this vision throughout the interview where he talked about the need for ongoing education and personal interventions - "if you're not a part of the solution, then you're a part of the problem."

People aren't judged for their background or ethnicity and yet take pride in their beliefs and understand where they came from and are educated about not only their own group but other cultures as well.

The visions shared by the students coded at Step-3 and 3.5 reflected the increased complexities found in their definitions of racism. This included moving away from a limited focus on individual interactions toward an understanding of group identity inclusive of the unequal status among Whites and people of color. Their visions depicted varying strategies and images of actions that would assist in remedying racism.

#### Step 4.5

At Step-4 and above one would expect to see visions that reflected a broad appreciation of diversity as an indispensable part of life. This would sound antithetical to the descriptions provided by the students at Step-1 through Step-2.5 because it implies the necessity to recognize both our similarities and differences and the realities of racism.

Ted described his vision of the most non-racist actions as an ideal world in which diversity was valued and nurtured.

The ideal world is where people are pro-diversity. Because pro-diversity can be really beautiful. It's something I wished we could have more. I don't think we need have to be the same. We can define beauty in different things. And try to be understanding of the different cultures different people and look for the beauty in it instead of wrong. The United States could be an ideal world because so many there's so many other racial groups that could really make this county a beautiful place.

## Summary

Reflecting on the larger continuum (See Table 5.4), the participants' share three definitions of the worst racist actions. These definitions are shaped by their personal experiences and understanding of history. There does not appear to be a connection between the students' choice of the worst actions and their ability to conceptualize racism.

The students' ability to envision non-racist actions however, appears to be related to their abilities to conceptualize racism. Those students coded at Step-1 through Step2.5, who have very simple definitions of racism (many of whom also adhere to the individualist ideology) have a hard time envisioning a world inclusive of people of color beyond Acceptance. While Acceptance is conceived of as a non-racist action, it is very limiting in that the systemic nature of institutional and cultural racism is denied. Consequently, Acceptance is listed on the racist action side of the continuum because the effect on targeted racial groups is still negative. The students coded at Step-3 and 3.5 have visions of non-racist actions that include validation of unequal status between Whites and people of color as racial groups and acknowledge the role Whites play in maintaining and dismantling racism. At Step-4 and above the vision of non-racist actions celebrated all people as indispensable contributors to society. These students describe visions of non-racist actions with increasingly more awareness of improved quality of life for all racial groups. The students descriptions



### Table 5.4 - Interview Participants' Attitudes about Racism

| ----- Racist Attitudes -----  |      |                |            | ----- Non-Racist Attitudes -----   |            |              |             |
|---|------|----------------|------------|--|------------|--------------|-------------|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• <u>Repulsion</u>: Difference is a biological defect. Anything is justified to change or eliminate them (e.g. prison, hospitalization, death)</li><li>• <u>Pity</u>: Whites are consciously and unconsciously superior. Whites are normal. Being White it preferred. Any possibility of becoming White (assimilation) should be reinforced and those who can't become White should be pitied.</li><li>• <u>Tolerance</u>: Whites believe that actions by other racial group members are just a phase. They are less mature. They should be treated with protectiveness and indulged. They should not be given positions of influence.</li><li>• <u>Acceptance</u>: There is still something different about them that Whites have a choice of recognizing or not. Characterized by statements like "You're not a Black to me." or "Why do they have to be so Mexican?" Ignores the social and legal realities of racism.</li></ul> |      |                |            | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• <u>Support</u>: Basic compliance. Work to protect the rights of other racial groups. Individual are still uncomfortable with people from different groups but recognize their social and legal responsibilities.</li><li>• <u>Admiration</u>: Acknowledges that being a person of color takes strength. White individuals are willing to examine themselves.</li><li>• <u>Appreciation</u>: Value diversity in all racial groups. White people are willing to fight against racism.</li><li>• <u>Empowerment</u>: Assume all people are indispensable and view all people with genuine affection and delight. Are advocates and allies for people from difference racial groups.</li></ul> |            |              |             |
| Repulsion   | Pity | Tolerance      | Acceptance | Support  | Admiration | Appreciation | Empowerment |
|   |      | Bobby Step-1   |            |  |            |              |             |
| Terri Step-1.5  |      |                |            |  |            |              |             |
| Jackie Step-1.5   |      | Mary Step-1.5  |            |  |            |              |             |
|   |      | Cathy Step-2   |            |  |            |              |             |
| Danielle Step-2.5   |      |                |            |  |            |              |             |
|   |      | Holly Step-3.5 |            | Linda Step-3   |            |              |             |
|   |      |                |            | Larry Step-3.5   |            |              |             |
|   |      |                |            | Ted Step-4.5   |            |              |             |

Modified from: Riddle, D. (n.d.) “Riddle Homophobia Scale” in Social Diversity and Social Justice: Selected Readings. M. Adams et al (eds.). Kendal Hunt Publishing Company.



of the most non-racist actions also appeared to be related to their quality and quantity of interactions with people of color. Such that, increased positive interactions enabled or assisted students to envision more complex non-racists actions and ideals.

This chapter presented an analysis of the ways in which the interviewees negotiated the seven theme clusters from their respective developmental positions on the Self-Knowledge Scale and the Conceptualization of Racism Scale. It is clear from the information presented above that the participants responded differently to each theme cluster based on their respective developmental positions on the CRT and the Self-Knowledge models. Neither developmental model, alone, provided enough information from which to understand the various perspectives on the themes. Examining the themes in relation to the intersections between both models, provided insight into the complexity and fluidity of the participants' total understanding of the issues. In Chapter 6 I develop three composite portraits illustrating the a developmental continuum of the ways in which students understand White identity. I use these portraits to answer three original research questions.

## CHAPTER 6

### DISCUSSION

#### Introduction

This study examines the ways in which a group of White traditional-aged college students understand their White identity based upon three aspects of racial identity, namely: (1) a student's sense of self as White, (2) a student's attitudes and beliefs about other racial groups, and (3) a student's definition of racism. These three aspects are chosen as the focus of the research because the review of racial and ethnic literature suggests that these aspect of racial identity are essential in shaping one's world view about race and racism. The three research questions addressed in this study are:

1. How do traditional-aged White college students describe themselves in terms of their White identity?
2. How do traditional-aged White college students demonstrate and/or describe their attitudes and beliefs about other racial groups?
3. How do traditional-aged White college students define and describe racism?

The study is exploratory in that it attempts to provide rich descriptions of the variations which exists in the ways which the students describe their White identity. A multidimensional analysis is conducted to examine the complex interactions among the three aspects of racial identity as each informs the ways the participants construct their worldviews about race and racism. The design involves both quantitative and

qualitative methods. Data was solicited in two sections of a sociology class in which students volunteered to participate in the study. The students completed three written data collection protocols including: a Personal Information Sheet, the Conceptualization of Racism Test (CRT), and the Experience Recall protocol (ERII) (Each are described in chapters 2 and 3). Forty students fulfilled all the criteria for inclusion in the sample. These criteria include: (1) students who self-identified as White or Caucasian, (2) students who were born and raised in the United States; (3) students who were traditional college age (18-25) and (4) students who completed all three written protocols.

Twelve variables were obtained from data and include two types of independent variables: (1) descriptive variables (age, gender, class year, size and type of high school, race, and ethnicity) and (2) thematic variables (age at time of first recognition or racial identity and ways of recognizing one's racial identity) and four dependent variables: the ERII scores and the average pre-test, average post-test and change scores on the CRT (see Table 4.2). I conducted a correlation analysis and found no correlation among any of the independent and dependent variables. In other words, age, gender, class year, type of high school, definition of race, definition of ethnicity, ways of recognizing one's own racial identity, and age when one first recognized their racial identity did not have a statistically significant relationship with the results of either of the written protocols. Furthermore, there was not a statistically significant relationship between results of the ERII and CRT test scores. Nonetheless,

while I found no statistically significant relationships, several patterns emerged in the data. These patterns were discussed in chapter 4. In summary, the patterns for the CRT results include: skewed distribution of the average pre- and post-test scores, indicative of students' limited capacity to define racism in a complex fashion and overall stability in the students' scores (see Table 4.3). The patterns related to Self-Knowledge describe the skewed distribution of scores, with the majority of participants coded at the Sit-1 and Sit-2 stages; the difference found to exist between distribution of scores based on gender, with women scoring slightly higher than men and the distribution of scores based on class year, with upper-class students scoring slightly higher than freshmen (see Table 4.4).

A thematic analysis of the data from the written responses and ten in-depth interviews is summarized and presented in seven theme clusters: (1) Definitions of race, ethnicity and self-ascription by race and ethnicity, (2) Recognition of differential treatment based on own racial identity, (3) Characteristics of being White, (4) General beliefs about other racial groups, (5) Identification of external influences, degree of internal agency stereotypes and feelings, (6) Anecdotes of racial interactions involved in racism, and (7) Perspectives on racism. These theme clusters are organized in relationship to the research questions such that, theme clusters 1, 2, and 3 address Question 1, "How do traditional-aged White college students describe themselves in terms of their White identity?" Clusters 4 and 5 address Question 2, "How do traditional-aged White college students demonstrate and or describe their attitudes and



beliefs about other racial groups?" Clusters 6 and 7 address Question 3, "How do traditional-ages White college students define and describe racism?"

A developmental analysis is included in the study because the literature suggests a study such as this requires a multiple domain developmental analysis. Furthermore, each of the three aspects of racial identity have associated conceptual skills (i.e., self-reflection, multiple perspective taking, and cognitive conceptualization) all of which have cognitive developmental implications. I identified seven substitute questions for the developmental analysis because there was not one specific answer to any of the three research questions. These seven substitute questions, detailed in chapters 3 and 5, examine the ways in which the participants negotiate the theme clusters from different developmental positions on the Self-Knowledge and Conceptualization of Racism scales.

Interview transcripts were coded for highest development indicators of Self-Knowledge and conceptualization of racism skills. I chose to use these scores in the developmental analysis because the interview process allows for a high level of structure through question sequencing, thus providing an environment for optimal performance.

The results of the developmental analysis illustrate that there are differences in the ways that the students negotiate the seven theme clusters. These differences are attributed to three areas: (1) conceptualization skills, (2) Self-Knowledge skills and (3) degree of prior contact with members of other racial groups. While cause and

effect was not measured, the developmental analysis did demonstrate that change in one area appeared related to change in the other areas. As described in Chapter 5, the analysis of the Self-Knowledge scores illustrates this point. The Situational-2 stage was further differentiated into early and late Sit-2 thinking based on the distinctions about the students' contact with people from other racial groups and their ability to conceptualize complex terms like race, ethnicity, and racism. Specifically, students with increased conceptualization skills, and increased positive contact with people of color had more developed Self-Knowledge skills.

It becomes apparent from the developmental analysis that the students who participated in this study can be grouped into general categories based upon their conceptualization skills, their Self-Knowledge skills and their contact with people from other racial groups. Using extent and intimacy of contact as the sorting variable, the grouping, including ERII and CRT scores, is presented on Table 6.1.

Table 6.1 Summary of Participant Groups

| Limited Contact |       |          | Acquaintance Contact |       |          | Intimate Contact |       |          |
|-----------------|-------|----------|----------------------|-------|----------|------------------|-------|----------|
| Bobby           | Sit-1 | Step-1   | Cathy                | Sit-2 | Step-2   | Holly            | Sit-2 | Step-3.5 |
| Mary            | Sit-2 | Step-1.5 | Danielle             | Sit-2 | Step-2.5 | Larry            | Sit-2 | Step-3.5 |
| Terri           | Sit-1 | Step-1.5 | Jackie               | Sit-2 | Step-1.5 | Linda            | Pat-1 | Step-3   |
|                 |       |          |                      |       |          | Ted              | Pat-1 | Step-4.5 |

I chose Contact as the domain upon which to construct this grouping because the level of the students' interaction with people from other racial groups was fairly constant

throughout their lives while developmental scores offer snapshots of their position at a particular time. However, it is important to note that I could have easily sorted by either developmental domain and the groupings would remain very similar.

I summarized the developmental analysis of the seven theme clusters to construct three general composite portraits of White identity based on the grouping in Table 6.1. I chose Rick, Mike and Lisa as names to illustrate the portraits' position on the continuum of understanding White identity (see Table 6.2) with the right side (Rick) illustrating the most simplistic understanding and the left side (Lisa) illustrating the most complex understanding presented in the findings.

### Findings

As noted above, this study was organized around three research questions. The following is a summary of the ways in which the composite portraits, presented through Rick, Mike and Linda, would respond to each of the research questions.

#### Question 1

How do traditional-aged White college students describe themselves in terms of their White identity?

The ways in which the students described themselves as White was the focus of the first three theme clusters: (1) Definitions of race, ethnicity and self-ascription by race and ethnicity, (2) Recognition of differential treatment based on own racial



Table 6.2 Composite Portraits of White Identity

| <b>Rick</b>   | <b>Mike</b>  | <b>Linda</b>  |
|---|--|---|
| <p><b>Contact:</b> Few if any personal interactions with people from other racial groups beyond childhood friends</p>   | <p><b>Contact:</b> Some one-to-one interactions in a narrowly defined context such classmates, or occasional dates</p>   | <p><b>Contact:</b> Relationships with people of color as family members and as close personal adult friends</p>   |
| <p><b>Conceptualization Skills:</b> Steps 1-1.5</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>identifies racism as interactions between individuals</li> <li>defines racism as discrimination against other people because of their skin color.</li> <li>believes there is no limit to who can be racist.</li> <li>cannot define the differences between prejudice, discrimination and racism</li> </ul>   | <p><b>Conceptualization Skills:</b> Step-1.5 -2.5</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>adds competing variables (greater awareness of group identities, different causes, etc.) to his definition of racism.</li> <li>has a basic understanding of the concept of power</li> <li>lacks a framework in which to manage the interrelatedness of the variables from which to commit to a definition</li> </ul>  | <p><b>Conceptualization Skills:</b> Step-3 - 4.5</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>has clear definitions of racism and discrimination and a framework for the relationship between the terms.</li> <li>coordinates some of the components of the definitions moving towards a consistent articulation of the systemic nature of racism in which Whites are the dominant group and have social power over people of color</li> </ul>  |
| <p><b>Self-Knowledge Skills:</b> Sit-1 - Early Sit-2</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>describes discrete episodes which are not connected to other experiences</li> <li>lacks the ability to recognize sets of situations</li> <li>cannot identify connections between situations</li> <li>relies upon external influences, such as stereotypes, parents, social expectations, and peers to shape their reactions and responses.</li> <li>requires a "racial other" to be present in order for to consider race as a salient factor in a situation</li> <li>bases his reactions and responses about other racial groups on stereotypes</li> </ul> | <p><b>Self-Knowledge Skills:</b> Early Sit-2</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>has stories that are more coherent and have richer details.</li> <li>has some 1:1 interactions with people from other racial groups</li> <li>interprets the situations within the individualistic ideology.</li> <li>sees himself as a victim of racism in situation involving discrimination between different racial groups</li> <li>relies on external influences (i.e., stereotypes, the presence of people of color, a bad White person, etc.) to prompt his reactions and responses</li> </ul> | <p><b>Self-Knowledge Skills:</b> Late Sit-2 - Pat-1</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>has more positive personal experiences with people from other racial groups</li> <li>names White as a group and understands how Whites benefit in a racist society</li> <li>demonstrates an awareness that she is often treated better than people from other racial groups</li> <li>describes global behaviors such as, "turning things around" and wanting to be "Christ-like" as a way in which to describe her internal processes</li> </ul> |



identity, and (3) Characteristics of being White. Below, I will summarize the responses to each theme cluster through the portraits identified above.

Rick will define himself as an individual rather than a member of a racial group. He will adhere to an individualist ideology in which he believes that all people are individuals, and all social group differences (race, gender, etc.) are of equal social status. Rick defines race as skin color and he lacks an organized definition for ethnicity. He is generally uncomfortable and ambiguous when asked to name his own race and ethnicity. He finds it easier to just check boxes on forms than to actually assign a category out loud. Although Rick has difficulty defining the terms and expresses discomfort in self-ascription, with prompting he is able to label his race as Caucasian or White and his ethnicity as European heritage, religion or "American."

Rick has very limited interactions with people from other racial groups. Since White is merely a skin color that is salient when a person with a different skin color is present, it comes as little surprise that Rick rarely thinks about his racial identity. This, coupled with his ideological beliefs, leads Rick to define himself as "normal" and allows him to think that he can treat people from other racial groups "normal" or like a White person.

Mike, like Rick, also considers himself to be an individual rather than a member of a racial or ethnic group. With some prompting, he is able to define race and ethnicity in such a way that race is an umbrella term over ethnicity. He is able to label his own racial and ethnic identities. He believes that White is just a skin color which

he recognizes when he is with people from other racial groups. He finds it easy to see himself as a victim of racism when he believes that people from other racial groups are treating him differently because of his racial identity.

Linda also defines herself as an individual. However, she does not adhere to the individual ideology. Rather, she recognizes that she can personally be effected in any situation because she recognizes that group memberships (race, gender, etc.) play a part in the outcome of the situation. She is able to describe White as a group and recognizes that as a member of this group, she benefits from her whiteness. Linda is able to define race and ethnicity in a complex fashion which has made self-ascribing group membership more difficult. Naming herself as White has become more than merely checking of a box or assigning labels, she now feels compelled to take some responsibility for her whiteness as it operates in an unequal social context. She illustrates this when she describes that "American" has become a code word for White and that this makes her feel awkward. Consequently, Linda often feels ashamed of her whiteness because she sees how people from other racial groups are hurt by racism.

## Question 2

How do traditional-aged White college students demonstrate and/or describe their attitudes and beliefs about other racial groups?

Attitudes and beliefs about people from other racial groups are reflected in the students' recognition of and adherence to stereotypes about the groups. Prior to

presenting the responses from the portraits it is important to reiterate a general trend of the students' discussions which was introduced in Chapter 4. "Other" as a racial category most often referred to Black. This was true even when the White students had no personal experiences with Black individuals. The significance of this trend for anti-racism work will not be examined within the scope of this paper, but should be considered as a topic for future research.

The students' attitudes and beliefs about other racial groups are examined in theme clusters (4) General beliefs about other racial groups, and (5) Identification of external influence, degree of internal agency, stereotypes and feelings. Their basic understanding of stereotypes and their ability to manage stereotypes are examined through an inquiry into the students' reliance upon external influences and internal agency. The three composite portrait responses are presented below.

Rick bases all of his reactions and responses to situations on external influences such as his parents, friends, teachers, stereotypes, and media. All of these external influences reinforce the uncomplicated understanding that Rick holds about racial differences. He thinks people from other racial groups can get along if they would just fit in, just like the one Vietnamese family that moved into his predominantly White neighborhood. He likes this family because they do not preach about race. Rick believes that people from other racial groups blame him for their social status. He knows this to be true even though he has never directly heard it from a person from a different racial group.

When Rick's stereotypical beliefs or "truths" are challenged (most often by White faculty and White students who are being politically correct), he generally gets angry. He also is uncomfortable around groups of people from other races. He is sure that they do not want him around. He gets angry at students from other racial groups because he knows they are talking about him or making fun of him. He thinks people from other racial groups focus on their race too much and he believes their lives would be easier if they did not make such a big deal about racism.

Mike interacts with people from other racial groups in safe environments like class, work or in the residence hall. He cannot understand why race is so important to them. He gets agitated when people from other racial groups blame him or Whites for their poor position in life. Mike also relies on external influences to shape his reactions and responses in situations. Since he has more interactions with members of other racial groups than Rick, he is often faced with competing external influences (his parents may say one thing and his friends of color will say another). As he is sorting through these competing external influences, Mike often demonstrates a greater reliance on stereotypes. Therefore, it often appears that he is more rigid in his attitudes and beliefs than Rick.

Linda, on the other hand, is consciously working against using stereotypes. She learned to do this through her positive interactions with people from other racial groups in which she recognizes the contradictions between her friends and the generally stereotypes. Like Rick and Mike, Linda also relies on external influences to



guide her reactions and responses. The difference between Linda and the others is that she has learned to consciously and unconsciously prioritize these influences in such a way that she is able chose the one that best supports her world view in a given context. Hence, it comes as little surprise that Linda appears inconsistent in her reactions to race-based issues, sometimes perpetuating stereotypes and other times challenging stereotypes. She is beginning to name some internal standards by which she hopes to live her life and experiments with these new standards in safe places. She feels guilty when she fails to meet these standards in her interactions with people from other racial groups.

### Question 3

How do traditional-aged White college students define and describe racism?

This question was addressed through theme clusters (6) Anecdotes of racial interactions involved in racism, and (7) Perspectives on racism. Overall, the students described racism in very simple terms, often dividing the world into racist and non-racist people. Most students believe racism is a learned behavior influenced by racist people who project negative attitudes and beliefs onto innocent people who are left with little choice but to become racist themselves. The students identify many different sources of racism including other individuals (parents, family, friends, etc.) and institutions (media, school, church, community, etc.). Furthermore, they name ignorance, fear, hatred, intolerance and feelings of superiority as both the causes and

the results of this process. Their definitions of racism appear to be related to their visions of the most-non racist actions such that those students with the most complex definitions of racism held the most comprehensive visions of a racially just world (see Table 5.3). I will use the portraits to illustrate these general findings.

Rick uses prejudice, discrimination and racism synonymously. He defines racism as discrimination against other people because of their skin color. He asserts that there is no limit to who can be racists. In other words, Rick believes that that racism is merely reciprocal actions between individuals. Since Rick hold this very limited definition of racism, it comes as little surprise that he also has a limited vision of non-racist actions. He describes "American ideals" such as being color-blind, relying upon the Golden Rule and believing in the American Dream, as his goals for non-racist interactions.

Mike also confounds prejudice, discrimination and racism. However, he organizes the terms by describing the differences between his definition and the definition presented in class. The class definition presents an emphasis on power in racism. He doesn't agree with this definition because he has heard of times when Blacks have cornered Whites and assaulted them. It is clear to him, through his examples, that the Blacks have power too. He still believes in individualism, therefore, he is also limited in his vision of a non-racist world. He thinks other racial groups should be accepted. He has mixed feeling about Affirmative Action and other legal remedies. He understands that some racial groups are disadvantaged but he still finds

it difficult to understand why the minorities get special opportunities, like scholarships, when he has to work hard for his money.

Linda has a clear framework in which she defines individual prejudice and discrimination as distinct from institution racism which requires social power. She knows, that as a White person, she benefits from unearned privileges often at the expense of people from other racial groups. She knows that she is treated better than her friends from other racial groups because she has easier access to jobs and services. Through her friendships and family relationships with people from other racial groups, she has developed a broad vision of non-racist actions. She thinks everyone should be seen as indispensable and that everyone should be valued for what they offer from all of their social group memberships. This is almost antithetical to Rick and Mike's visions because it implies the necessity of recognizing racial similarities and differences.

The responses to the three research questions were presented through three portraits of White identity. These portraits were developed as composites of the different responses presented in the developmental analysis in Chapter 5. These finding lend support to much of the current literature, can be used to improve practice and offer new ideas for research. These three areas will be presented next.

### Contributions to Literature

This study supports and extends the body of racial and ethnic identity literature in many ways. From an examination of composite portraits which illustrate the interconnections among (1) a person's sense of self as White, (2) a person's attitudes and beliefs about other racial groups and (3) a person's definition of racism, this study lends support to the theoretical development of the early stages and phases described in the White identity development literature. Furthermore, this study supports the hypothesis that traditional-age, White college students are in the earliest positions of development (Hardiman, 1982; Helms, 1990; Phinney, 1990). The composite portraits share qualities found in each of the earliest stages of the racial and ethnic identity models presented in Chapter 2. A discussion about missing portraits will be addressed in areas for future research.

This study also lends support to previous works that examine single aspects of racial and ethnic identity development. For example, Claney and Parker (1989) investigated the relationship between White racial identity consciousness and perceived comfort with Black individuals and report evidence of a curvi-linear relationship between racial identity consciousness stages as measured through the WRIAS and perceived levels of comfort with Black people. "It appears that, as individuals progress through the stages of racial consciousness, they experience different levels of comfort in certain situations with various Black individuals" (Claney and Parker, 1989, p. 451). Highest levels of comfort were reported by individuals at the first and last



stages of the WRIAS. Perceived comfort was less at the second and fourth stages and lowest at the third stage. This implies a need for individuals to gain more than just a little knowledge and experience with Blacks to help combat narrowly acquired understandings and stereotypical views that accompany early progress in racial identity development.

Students' narratives about relationships with people from other racial groups reflect this curvi-linear result. Many students describe friendships with people from other racial groups that existed when they were younger. They marveled at how "everyone just got along." As they reflect on the ways in which their friendships changed, the students express greater discomfort with their former friends, especially those former friends who united with others from different racial groups. This mirrors the negative relationship between race consciousness and level of comfort that Clane and Parker describe. The positive half of the curvi-linear relationship is presented by those student who describe establishing intimate friendships with people from other racial groups, as adults, after a period of reflection in which they were able to (1) identify the limitations of stereotypes, (2) examine the loss they experienced from losing previous relationships with people from other racial groups or (3) identify the ways in which they benefit as Whites.

Additionally, Carter (1990b) investigated college students' counselor preferences (Carter, 1988; Carter, 1990a; Helms, & Carter, 1987) and demonstrated White racial identity attitudes to be related to Whites' intentions and reactions to

counseling dyads (Carter, 1990) and to Whites' preference for White counselors (Helms & Carter, 1987). The interviewees' discussions about preference for White faculty reflect similar findings, such that, those students with less interaction with people of color and lower developmental scores described feeling more comfortable with White faculty and either (1) have never considered the possibility of a superior who was a person of color or (2) were uncomfortable around faculty of color. These students could not describe any ways in which they might benefit by having a person of color in a superior position. The few students with positive contact with people from other racial groups and increased developmental scores demonstrated more comfort with people of color in power and could name benefits to having people from other racial groups in power positions.

The interview participants reportedly give very little consideration to their racial and ethnic identities. Most consider race and ethnicity as identities that were external to themselves or as identities possessed by people of color. It should come as little surprise that Whites are able to maintain this level of awareness because, as members of the privileged group, they do not have to pay attention to racial or ethnic group membership because society is set up to support them as normal and as individuals (Frankenberg, 1989; Helms, 1990; McIntosch, 1988; Phinney, 1988; Taylor, 1990). Furthermore, this supports the findings that Whites begin their racial and ethnic ascription process by assuming ascription designated by external cultural components (Hardiman, 1982; Helms, 1990; Phinney, 1990).

While this study did not find statistically significant relationships based on any of the demographic variables, patterns for each of the developmental tools were identified. These patterns lend support to the work investigating the relationship between White racial identity attitudes and racism in college students (Jacobson, 1985, cited in Carter, 1990). Both, this study and the cited material, suggest that White women and men differ in the way in which they negotiate attitudes, cognition and self-reflection as it relates to the tasks of defining race, racism and racial identity. In most cases, women demonstrate greater capacities to self-reflect and have greater empathy for members of other racial group.

This study also supports and extends the work found within the adult development and college student development literature. Qualities inherent in White identity development (cognitive development, self-reflection and attitudes) studied separately and in relation to each other have been the focus of much research (Baxter Magolda, 1992; Belenkey, et al., 1986; Gilligan, 1982, Kitchner, 1982; Kitchner & King, 1984; Perry, 1981; Tatum, 1992; Weinstein and Alschuler, 1985). The skewed distribution of scores on the CRT and ERII protocols supports the findings of other researchers who identify that in classroom settings, the majority of traditional-aged students operate from dualistic and early multiplistic positions (Adams, & McGovern-Zhou, 1994; Bidell, et al., 1993; Kuriss, 1981; Lee, et al, 1994; Perry, 1970; Stonewater & Daniels, 1983).



Specifically this study found an interconnection among the students' conceptualization of racism skills, Self-Knowledge skills and contact with people from other racial groups. As illustrated in Chapter 5 and in the composite portraits, their appears to be parallel development between the conceptualization of racism skills and the Self-Knowledge skills. Furthermore, those students with increased positive contact with people from other racial groups demonstrated higher skills in both areas.

Bidell (et al, 1993) and Lee (et al, 1994) identified that "in addition to the affective or identity issues, there is a distinct cognitive component" (Lee et al, 1994, p. 15) to addressing issues of race, racism and racial identity. Their research focuses on the development of conceptualization of racism skills in which they found students' abilities to demonstrate mastery of skills reflective of increased cognitive complexity were related to the support provided for the acquisition of these skills. Within supportive structures, such as experientially designed courses (Adams & McGovern-Zhou, 1993 & 1994), the participants are able to increase their conceptualization scores, some by a full step. However, when allowed to construct meaning without intentional support, many students resort to more functional or familiar ways of meaning-making, relying upon ideological beliefs, or dualistic filters through which they try to comprehend systematic issues.

This study inadvertently provides support to the findings cited above. Overall, the students demonstrated very little change in their abilities to conceptualize racism as recorded through the CRT pre- and post-tests. In fact almost 80% of the participants

demonstrated stability or negative change. However, during the interview, with intentionally sequenced questions, six of the participants were able to demonstrate more complex definitions of racism than they were able to construct in their written protocol responses.

As described in Chapter 4, the Change scores on the CRT raise some interesting questions. Bidell (et al, 1993) and Lee (et al, 1994) explain the stability and negative change scores in three different fashions: (1) a lecture-based diversity awareness course is a limited tool through which to promote increased understanding of complex terms, (2) strong emotional resistance to this topic area may limit some students and (3) some students may have they consolidated or internalized the material, preparing themselves for the next position on the Conceptualization of Racism Scale. While these three interpretations lend themselves to a number of the different situations that foster and inhibit development, Stonewater and Daniel (1983) provide an additional interpretation for change and stability.

Stonewater and Daniels (1983) found that the effects of instruction were different on the psychosocial and cognitive developmental domains. Additionally, development across these domains may occur at different rates. They concluded that development proceeded in a progression where changes in one area precipitated changes in another (Stonewater & Daniels, 1983). This suggest that rather than naming stability as a result of one of the three reasoning provided by Bidell and Lee, we may conclude that those students who may demonstrate stability or negative

change scores on the CRT scale may have progressed in another domain such as Self-Knowledge.

In light of Stonewater and Daniel's findings it becomes important to examine the ways in which different developmental domains inform and support each other. In this study, the Self-Knowledge scale was further differentiated at the Situational 2 stage. The conceptualization of racism skills coupled with quantity and quality of contact with people from other racial groups were used as indicators of the within stage variations found to exist at the Situational-2 stage. Taylor (1990) also found that cognitive skills impacted students' ability to tolerate diversity. She identified predictors of tolerance, and found that intellectual development emerged as the most consistent predictor for White students' tolerance for diversity. Kitchner and King (1987) found that increased ability to understand and manage cognitive complexity was a requirement of attribute-based interactions.

Finally, as a research model, this is one of the first studies to look at the ways in which White college students construct meaning about race, racism and racial identity using both qualitative and quantitative research methods. Additionally, this research model incorporated multiple protocols, intended to directly measure cognitive understanding and Self-Knowledge and indirectly assess attitudes and beliefs about other racial groups. This multifaceted approach supports the recommendations made by previous racial and ethnic identity researchers (Helms, 1986; Ponterotto & Wise, 1987; Ponterotto, 1987).

Through this multifaceted approach we have come to better understand that acknowledgment of one's White identity involves a development process. An awareness of the dynamic nature of racial identity development, inclusive of functional and optimal performance requires practitioners to have improved reflective practice skills. Assessing White identity development, both for self and participants, will better prepare practitioners to develop interventions more suited for the audience at hand. The Implications to Practice of this study will be discussed next.

### Implications to Practice

The results of this study indicate an interconnection among the three aspects of White identity: (1) a person's sense of self as White; (2) a person's attitudes and beliefs about members of other groups; and (3) a person's ability to define racism. The developmental assessment of each aspect further supports the primary assumption that White identity is developmental. This raises a new set of assumption for practice.

It is assumed that White identity development is sequential and cumulative such that the interactions one has with members of one's own group and with members of other racial groups are influenced by the skills one demonstrates from a certain worldview or stage perspective (Helms, 1995; Hardiman & Jackson, 1992). Furthermore, White identity development is dynamic in that it is shaped in part by the environment and the support provided for optimal skills performance. It is important to understand this nuance because it explains many of situations in which person may



appear inconsistent in his or her behaviors. Functional and optimal skills performance will change across contexts and domains with functional and optimal performance dependent upon the levels of challenge and support for a certain perspective or worldview.

Practitioners' recognition and understanding of their own racial identity development process is impacted by their own worldview (Hardiman & Jackson, 1992) and is demonstrated through their various intervention strategies. With each new level of consciousness, the practitioner will construct a more adequate set of information-processing strategies which allow him or her to reflect a more complex worldview. Selection of the appropriate intervention strategies designed to meet the needs of the participants is dependent on the skills which are accessible to the practitioner and the level of challenge and support the context provides for the practitioner. In other words, a practitioner operating from an early or less sophisticated racial identity development position may not adequately support a participant operating from a more developed understanding. This further illustrates the vigilance we must maintain in our applications and on reflection of our own practices. This is especially true in the classroom where a practitioner has a captive audience over an extended period of time.

A classroom setting needs to include strategies that contribute towards creating a safe environment in which the aspects of racial identity development are fostered in relation to the behaviors, beliefs and attitudes they generate at various

developmental positions. As reported throughout, for anti-racism work to be effective, the educators needs skills to manage both the cognitive and emotional development in order to create an environment conducive of optimal performance. Specifically, educators need to be better prepared to manage the guilt and shame inherent in the process for those students who are just beginning to develop self-reflection skills. Finally, it is necessary to identify interventions which encourage the establishment of personal standards to balanced against the pervasiveness of racism as a way in which to empower the students to be social change agents (Adams & McGovern-Zhou, 1993 & 1994; Bidell, et al, 1993; Lee, et al, 1994).

### Implications for Future Research

In this study, I found that White identity is shaped by three aspects: one's sense of self as White, one's attitudes and beliefs about other racial groups and one's definition of racism. It is suggested that Self-Knowledge was influenced by cognitive conceptualization of racism skills and level of contact with people from other racial groups. While there was not a statistically significant correlation between the two sets of developmental scores, the patterns found to exist within the interview participants' scores (see Tables 5.1 and 6.1) support this assertion. Further research with larger random samples is necessary to examine this idea. However, future research should have as a goal an examination of the dialectic relationship between the aspects rather than reduction of cause and effect.

It is also important to examine the populations absent in this study. The portrait most obviously missing (especially from this region of the country) is of the student who consciously and consistently believes that Whites are superior. In pursuing this populations, we should not confuse ideology with development and conclude that this portrait would automatically lie to the right of Rick on the continuum. Rather we should also examine the developmental implications of these beliefs as part of the ways in which White is constructed. Acquiring information from this subset of the population will require different research methods and settings.

Additionally, it would be important to conduct similar studies with participants who are presumed to be further along in racial identity development. This type of study would provide information for the portrait of the student actively engaged in self-reflection about his or her White identity. We should expect these students to be coded as Pattern-1 or higher on the Self-Knowledge scale and coded at Step-4 or above on the CRT. Therefore, it is important to identify appropriate courses or other research sites which would support this level of development. This information will better equip practitioners with information necessary to assist in the creation of other educational interventions designed to moved individuals into further stages of racial identity development.

The role of emotion was briefly touched upon in this study. It is suggested that guilt and shame are often the results an individual experiences when a set of internalized standards are not fulfilled. Strategies which assist in avoiding these two

emotions are affiliated with prejudice reduction behaviors, such that, a person learns to avoid experiencing these feelings by consciously not relying on stereotypes. As part of future preparation of educational interventions, motivation for reducing stereotypical thinking in a society that rewards continuation of the status quo needs to be examined in greater detail.

Finally, a longitudinal study is necessary to measure stability and change of racial identity in "an unsupportive environment" once the students are no longer engaged intentionally with a class content that focuses on social problems such as racism. This would offer a critical analysis of the developmental snapshots offered in a cross-sectional study such as this. It would, in turn, provide an examination of the long term effects of various teaching strategies (i.e., experiential learning or lectured-based). It would also allow one to assess the role of developmentally sequenced course such as the ones found in the General Education Program at this university.

### Conclusions

Increasing national attention to White identity, whiteness, and White ethnicities provides a broad context to the importance of this study. In order to engage in a dialogue about the nature of these topics, we need to be better informed about the ways in which White identity is constructed and changes over time. This study provides a very important contribution to this discussion through the analysis of traditional-age White college students (1) descriptions of being White, (2) attitudes



and beliefs about other racial groups, and (3) definitions of racism. This analysis contributes to the dialogue by providing rich descriptions of the variations of meaning that the students give to the aspects which shape their White identity.

APPENDIX  
DATA COLLECTION TOOLS

Appendix 1 - Release

An Inquiry into Students' Understanding of Race,  
Racial Identity and Racism

I, \_\_\_\_\_, agree to participate in a research study examining students' understanding of race, racial identity and racism. I understand that I will be asked to share information about my personal experiences. I further understand that part of the risk involved with this project is the possibility of remembering some painful events from my past.

I understand that I can agree to participate now and at any point change my mind. While this may limit the number of extra-credit points I receive, I understand that in relation to my class grade, I will not be placed at any disadvantage now or in the future based on my participation.

If chosen to participate in the interview portion of this project, I understand and agree that this interview will be audio recorded and transcribed and the transcription will be shared with me. The interview, audiotape and transcript will be confidential.

I understand that the information in this study is gathered for presentation in the researcher's doctoral dissertation, as well as for use in journal articles, educators' workshops and possible chapters in books. Furthermore, I understand that all contributions that I make towards this research will be kept confidential and presented in a manner that will afford me, my institution and other individuals mentioned anonymity

Participant Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Researcher Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix 2- Personal Information Sheet

### An Inquiry into Students' Understanding of Race, Racial Identity and Racism Personal Information Sheet

|                      |
|----------------------|
| * Name _____         |
| * Student ID # _____ |
| Campus Address _____ |
| Campus Phone _____   |

\* This will only be used to ensure contact you if you are chosen for follow up interviews

|  |                         |
|--|-------------------------|
| <u>Personal Identifier:</u> (Use your birthdate and your mother's initials as your personal identifier for all protocols): |                         |
| Birthdate ____/____/____<br>month/date/year  | Mother's Initials _____ |

Background: Please provide the following information about yourself as part of the demographics for this study.

|                   |                            |
|-------------------|----------------------------|
| Age: _____        | Major: _____               |
| Class Year: _____ | Years at University: _____ |
| Gender: _____     | Race: _____                |
| Ethnicity: _____  | Religion: _____            |

over



Describe your family: (Who are the members of your family? What is your position in your family - oldest, youngest? etc.):

Describe your high school: (i.e., size, location, who attended, graduation date, etc.):

Why did you take this course?

Thank you for your participation in this study

### Appendix 3 - Pre-Test for Conceptualization of Racism

An Inquiry into Students' Understanding of Race, Racial Identity and Racism

Protocol #1

Personal ID: Birthday \_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_  
month/date/year

Mother's Initials \_\_\_\_

Please respond to the following two questions. For additional space, attach a separate sheet of paper.

1. In your words, explain your understanding of what racism is? In other words, what in your view is the nature of this problem?

(over)

2. In your view, what are the causes of racism; how does it come about; how is it perpetuated?

Thank you for your participation in this study

## Appendix 4 - The Experience Recall Protocol

An Inquiry into Students' Understanding of Race, Racial Identity and Racism  
Protocol #2 - The Experience Recall

Personal ID: Birthday \_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_  
month/date/year

Mother's Initials \_\_\_\_

We are trying to find out more about how people make sense of their personal experiences in relations to race, racism and racial identity. The following instructions and questions are part of an extended process for examining the ways in which a person reflects on past experience dealing with these issues. Feedback from the many people who have responded using this approach consider it a valuable educational exercise, one that can provide additional understanding about something important that has occurred in one's past. Anything written remains confidential and anonymous.

\* \* \* \* \*

Think back to some earlier times in your life and recall the first, or a significant time, when you became aware that you were treated differently because of your racial identity. This experience may have involved conflict or might have been uncomfortable and difficult, most importantly, we hope that it was important to you at the time. Once you have selected the experience, respond as best you can to the following eight questions. Feel free to add additional paper or to continue your responses on the back of the pages.

1. Describe as fully as you can the experience you remembered. Please try to include:

- \* what you did and what others did
- \* what you were thinking and feeling in the situation
- \* what specific conditions or events made you respond as you did
- \* what led up to this experience
- \* what were some of the consequences of the experience



2. How was that experience important to you then?

3. How is that experience important to you now?

4. From the experience you are remembering please describe some things you know about yourself now.

5. In what ways were your thoughts, feelings and actions in your recalled experience typical of thoughts, feelings and actions you have had in situations? Is there a pattern to your response in the these kinds of situations? If so, how would you describe or characterize the pattern?

6. What do you find satisfying or dissatisfying about the ways you think, feel and act in such situations?

7. Describe anything you have tried to do to modify your thoughts or feelings in order to change your way of responding in these situations. Please try to describe how your efforts affect or have affected your typical response.

8. Do you have any ideas about ways you MIGHT try to modify any of your thoughts or feelings in order to change your way of responding?

Thank you for responding. We hope this reflective activity has been useful to you.

## Appendix 5 - Post-Test for Conceptualization of Racism

An Inquiry into Students' Understanding of Race, Racial Identity and Racism

Protocol #3

Personal ID: Birthday \_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_  
month/date/year

Mother's Initials \_\_\_\_

Please respond to the following two questions. For additional space, attach a separate sheet of paper.

1. In your words, explain your understanding of what racism is? In other words, what in your view is the nature of this problem?

(over)



2. In your view, what are the causes of racism; how does it come about; how is it perpetuated?

Thank you for your participation in this study

## Appendix 6 - Interview Guide

This interview is designed to gather information about your attitudes and beliefs about race, racial identity and racism in American culture. I am seeking your most honest feelings and responses to the questions. There are no right or wrong answers. Please answer each question as completely as possible. The information gathered will be used to better assist educators in their work with today's college student population.

### General introductions

|            |                |
|------------|----------------|
| Age        | Year in School |
| Birthplace | Years at WSU   |
| Hometown   | Campus Address |
| Major      |                |

### Social Context/Group Membership

- Tell me about your high school. Was it racially mixed? Was it different from grade school or junior high? Who were your friends? How did you do academically? Were you involved in school? What did you do in your spare time? What would your teachers say about you?
- Have you held a job yet? What was it? Is this something that you are considering as a life time choice? What is your current career path?
- What clubs and organizations did you belong to as a child? What was the most important one? Who else was involved with this club / organization? How do you think this club / organization influenced you?

### Family

- Who is in your family? How many brothers and sisters do you have? Do you have lots of contact with your other members of your extended family (i.e. grandparents, aunts and uncles or cousins)?
- What is your family like? How do you get along?
- Who in your family had the most influence on you? Who do remain closest to in your family?

### Awareness of Difference/Sense of Whiteness

- How often does your family talk about racial issues? When was the last time this happened? Do you remember the topic? What was it? Do you remember what your thoughts and feelings were? What were they?
- How would you describe you ethnicity? Has this had an important role in your family life?
- How do you define your race? How do you define ethnicity?
- Have you ever thought about having white skin? When did you first become aware of your skin color? What do you think about it now? Is it something you think about often? How often?
- What does it mean to be white to you? What do you think it means to be white to your parents? How about to your grand parents? Your brothers? Your sisters?
- Are you proud of being white? Do you think being white has made any difference in your life?
- Have you ever wanted to be a different color or race? What color or race? Why/Why not?
- Are there times when you are comfortable around people of color? Are there times when you are not comfortable? What helps you determine your level of comfort?

- Should whites socialize with people of color more? What are the advantages? What are the disadvantages?

#### Messages prior to college

- Were there people from different races...  
     in your neighborhood where you grew up?  
     who worked in your parents or grandparents home?  
     in your grade school?  
     Junior High? High school?  
     with you in the military?  
     on jobs where you worked?  
 For each yes ask about frequency, how close you were in a relationship, how other whites responded to them, what you thought about them
- In the neighborhood where you grew up, how many people from different races lived near you? Is this a good amount? why/why not?
- If you had to choose a person from a different race to be your neighbor, can you describe the person you might choose? What does the person act like? What values might the person have? What race would s/he be? Why would this person be a good neighbor?
- How would you feel if more people from different races moved into your neighborhood? How about if 20% of the population was made up of people from different races? 40%? 60%? 80%?
- Would you have an objection to having a person from a different race as a boss? As your secretary? As your teacher? Your principal?

#### Campus Life

- What do you like most about the University? What do you like least about it?
- What do you think is the most pressing issue on campus today? How has this issue impacted you? What has been your involvement with this issue? Have you had any direct involvement? Have you had any indirect involvement?
- What do you do outside of class? Do you participate in any clubs or organizations? Are you a member of a sports team? Who do you spend time with outside of class? How did you choose to participate in these activities? How many students from different races are involved in the activities with you? What role did this number play in your decision? what are the advantages of participating in your out-of-class activities? What are the disadvantages of participating in your out-of-class activities? What kind of interaction between people who are white and people of other races would best help you learn about racial issues?

#### Race and Racism

- With what race other than your own are you most familiar? Think about everything you've learned about this racial group? How did you learn about this race? What are the sources of your information? What do you see as the advantages of these sources? What do you see as the disadvantages of these sources? If you could give advice to anyone on how best to learn about (insert race), what kind of advice would you give them? Talk about what you believe is the key to better understanding (insert race).
- During your time in college, you've probably had interactions with people from different races. As you think back on these interactions describe the one which had the most positive impact on your learning about a specific racial group. What made this interaction positive? Please be specific and use examples. Were there aspects of the interaction which were not positive? If so, please describe



some of the aspects and why they were not positive. What are the most important things you've learned from these interactions? Please describe the type of relationship with a(n) (insert race) person that would be the most beneficial to your learning about (insert race) and explain why?

- Do you have any friends who are from a different race? What do you think about these relationships? or
- Do you wish you had friends from other races? Why/why not?
- Think back to the groups / organizations you identified earlier. Was race an issue when you chose to participate in any of these groups? How many people of color were also involved in this group with you?
- Have you ever tried an activity where there is a large number of people of color? How did you feel? Would you do it again? or Would you be interested in trying something new in a place where there is a large number of people of color? why/why not?
- Think about your classes? Which ones have a large number of people of color? Which don't? What are the advantages to this? What are the disadvantages?
- Have you ever been the only white person in a group of people of color? How did this feel
- Lately there has been a lot of focus on racism on campus? What do you think racism is? Is it easy to recognize racism?

#### Individual Manifestations

- What do you define as a racist act? Have you ever seen one? Have you ever participated in one?
- Do you think jokes about specific groups are funny? Do you think they are true?
- How do you feel about how whites have been treated by people from other races?
- How do you behave when you are around someone from a different race? Do you behave differently when you do not know that person?
- Think about a recent time when you had a difficult interaction with a person from a different race OR were involved in a conversation with a white person that reflected negatively about a person from a different race. What was the nature of the interaction / conversation? How did you feel about the interaction / conversation? Could you have done anything differently during this interaction / conversation? Please describe some of the alternatives. How do you feel about these alternatives? How did you go about choosing the action which you took in the situation you described above? What things were the most important considerations in your choice? Please give details.
- Sometimes we have general beliefs and thoughts about a specific race of people. Often these beliefs are different than experiences we have with individuals from that racial group. Can you think of a situation like this in your own life? How did this person appear different than what you thought to be true about people from this race? Please describe this situation in detail. How did you go about choosing what to believe about this person? Please give details and examples. Did this interaction change your belief about this racial group? Please give details and examples. Can one ever be sure of what should be believed, either the information we've gathered throughout our lives or the single interactions we have with individuals? If so, how? If you can't be sure of which explanation to believe, why not?

#### Institutional Manifestations

- Are you aware of any of the racist events that have happened recently on campus? Which ones? Which University departments do remember having involvement in the issue? How do you think the departments handled the situation? How has it these impacted you - directly or indirectly? How might it have impacted a person from a different race?



- In your opinion, is the rate of unemployment among many people from different races higher than that of whites, lower or about the same? Why do you think this situation exists?
- Have you heard of anything about programs to give special preference to special groups of people? This is sometimes called preferential treatment. What do you think about it?
- Do you think a race war is possible in the country? What will you do if it happens?

#### Cultural Manifestations

- Do you think everyone is treated equally in the United States?
- There have been a number of reports, especially since the L.A. Up-rioting and the OJ Simpson hearing that would state that America is a racist society? What do you think about this? Is it a fair assessment? Why/Why not?
- In general, how do you think people from different races have been treated in the society? Do they have any legitimate grievances?
- Has there been any progress in race relations over the last few years? Can you sight some examples of the progress or lack of progress?
- Would you say most people are prejudice or not prejudice? Why?
- Can a racist be a good person?

#### Sources include:

Wellman (1972), Portraits of White Racism - Interview guide

Helm, (1991) Black and White Racial Identity - White Racial Identity Attitude Scale

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